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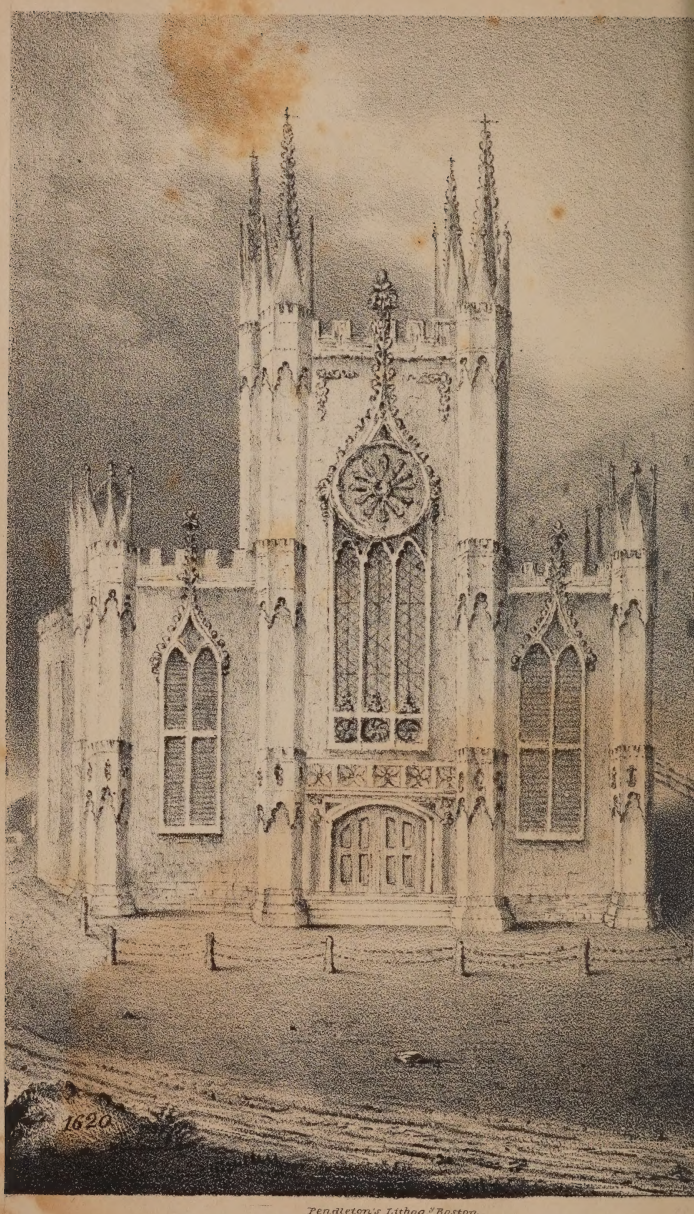

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THE NEW CHURCH OF THE 1ST CONGL. SOCIETY IN PLYMOUTH, MASS

Publ.d by Marsh, Capen & Lyon, Boston.

HISTORY

OF THE

TOWN OF PLYMOUTH;

FROM ITS FIRST SETTLEMENT IN 1620, TO THE YEAR 1832.

BY JAMES THACHER, M. D., A. A. S. &c.

'Ask thy fathers, and they will show thee; thy elders, and they will tell thee.'

BOSTON:
MARSH, CAPEN & LYON.
1832.

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PREFACE.

The design of this publication is to present a minute narrative of the settlement of the oldest town in the New England territories.

Those who have reviewed the numerous local histories produced by learned antiquarians, may imagine that little remains of pilgrim story for the exercise of another pen, but the gleanings which escape the research, or would not comport with the views of the technical historian, may yet be found to bear a peculiar interest in a memoir of less import, and should not be lost to society. There are, moreover, numerous events and incidents of more recent occurrence, which the antiquarian would lament should be consigned to the shades of oblivion. The author has endeavored to exhibit a faithful delineation of the characters of our venerated fathers, from whom we inherit civil and religious foundations incomparably the wisest and best that ever a political body bequeathed to their posterity. It is from our fathers, that we receive instruction in the radical principles, which are recognized at the present era as the immutable laws of the rights of man, and their noble achievements were highly prized and gloriously sustained by the sages of our revolution in 1776. Let not, therefore, the sons dishonor their father's holy standard; it was their ardent zeal and heavenly mindedness, that prompted them to commence the race of liberty and freedom, and their spirits, tracing through the eye of faith the glorious destiny of future generations, were sustained by a holy trust. They may have had a pro-

phetic vision of their descendants assembling in magnificent temples, gratefully chanting their father's praises, and inculcating those pure principles of virtue and religion which they assiduously cherished as the objects of their fondest attachment.

This work is the result of much investigation and research, the materials are derived from the most substantial sources, as the Old Colony records, Judge Davis's edition of Morton's memorial, Historical society's collections, Belknap's biography, Winthrop's history by Savage. Hutchinson's history, and Baylies history of the Old Colony.

Although this is not to be considered as an elaborate history, it may be presumed that no essential portion of local matter interesting to the antiquarian has been overlooked. The invaluable document furnished by Judge Davis's edition of Morton's memorial will ever be resorted to with peculiar interest, and this consideration precludes the necessity, if not propriety of a more extended narative.

The author feels bound to express his acknowledgements to Rossetter Cotton Esq., for assistance from the public records, and to Dr Winslow Warren for his review of the manuscript, and to Isaac Goodwin Esq., of Worcester for useful communications. Other gentlemen who have encouraged the undertaking will please to accept of his thanks. We are indebted to George W. Brimmer Esq. for the drawings which embellish the work and for which our acknowledgements are due.

JAMES THACHER

Plymouth, July 4, 1832.

P. S. The author would be much gratified were it in his power to enter particularly into genealogical detail of families, but this would greatly exceed the latitude originally prescribed and swell the volume to an inconvenient size. Could he have indulged in his own personal feelings many more worthies would have been mentioned which are entitled to a kind remembrance.

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ERRATA.

Both propriety and a sense of duty require that an additional page be annexed for the purpose of explanations and corrections.

In the genealogical sketch of the Winslow family an error has been detected which may be corrected by substituting the following for the first part of page 155.

Edward, the youngest brother of General John Winslow, was an accomplished scholar and a gentleman of fine taste. He resided in Plymouth, and, together with his son, filled the offices of clerk of the court, Register of Probate and Collector of the Port. A few years prior to the revolutionary war, this gentleman erected a dwelling house in North street in this town, in a style of elegance far superior to any one previously erected in the Old Colony, and which, even at the present day, is admired as a fine model of architecture. Mr. Winslow, being a royalist, removed to Nova Scotia with his family about two years after the commencement of the revolution, and died at Halifax. In consequence of his removal, he forfeited his estate in his native country. Edward Winslow Jr. son of the preceding, was also an intelligent and accomplished gentleman. He was one of the founders and most active members of the Old Colony club, and his address on the 22d of December 1770, was the first ever delivered on that occasion. Mr. Winslow Jr. repaired to Boston before hostilities commenced, accompanied the British in the evacuation of that town, and was afterwards a colonel in their service. He subsequently, received the appointment of Chief Justice in New Brunswick, and his posterity are still in the enjoyment of high official distinctions in that province.

Pelham Winslow, the son of John, whose name is mentioned in the note to page 154, has died in Boston at the early age of twenty three, since the foregoing pages went to the press. He was a young gentleman of great industry, of exemplary morals and worthy of his illustrious ancestry. His remains are deposited in the ancient family vault at Careswell, Marshfield His brother Isaac is now the only male descendant of the first governor who bears the name of Winslow in this country

In page 223 Mrs Sarah, the relict of Martin Brimmer Esq., was mentioned as a surviving member of the family of the late Col. G. Watson. This respectable lady departed this life August 23d, 1832, aged 73 years.

In the 117 page it is stated, that John, the son of Governor Bradford is mentioned in the Plymouth records as selectman, and on various committees, as deputy from Plymouth in 1690. The author has since ascertained that this relates to the grandson, and not to the son of the governor. He was led into the error by the circumstance of both bearing the same name.

Page 368, it is stated that William Davis Esq., was the first President of the Plymouth Bank, whereas it should be noted that the late Hon. William Sever was president from July 3d, 1803 to 1805.

Page 158, there is an error respecting the descent of Hon. Marcus Morton. It was Ephram and not John that was the ancestor of Judge Morton.

I have the permission of Hon. Judge Davis to correct the error which originated with him in his edition of the memorial.

Page 154, in the note, for Cornelius read Gideon.

Page 48, The sentence in the middle of the page should not be divided at the words 'seated there,' except by a comma.

Page 35, for hocake read nocake.

Page 20, for throughout for ships, read though not for ships.

Page 83, near the bottom for dulled read drilled.

Page 335, for Training green read Framing green.

Page 223, at bottom for Wars read Mars.

Page 232, Dr. Holmes' text was not, 'where are the fathers,' but *whose are the fathers.* Rom. ix. v.

Page 172, James Warren died 1715, not 1711.

Page 224, for 1715 read 1815.

Page 226, for December 13th, read December 3d.

Besides the above, a few errors in Orthography, and in punctuation and omissions of marks of quotation, the reader is requested to correct and excuse.

Page 205, second line at top, for seemed read secured.

References.
A. Pilgrim Hall
B. Court House
C. Jail
D. Bank
E. Church
F. Town House & Market
G. Church
H. Forefather's Rock
L. Church
M. Church
N. Poor House
O. Church
P. Church
Lane Mag.
Rope walk
Long Wharf
School
Murdock's Pond
Burying Hill
165 Ft. high
Rope Walk
High Land
Meeting Hill
Vault Pace?
Furnace
Forge
Forge
Watson's Hill
First Indian Treaty made on this Hill
Green
School
High Land
Cotton Factory
A
MAP
OF
PLYMOUTH VILLAGE
1832
Scale – 50 Rods to an Inch.
Pub.d by Marsh, Capen & Lyon, Boston
Pendleton's Lithog.y Boston.

HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH.

This ancient town, the cradle of New England, comprised, in its original limits, the present town, together with Kingston, Plympton, Carver, that part of Wareham called Agawam, and part of Halifax. Its Indian name was Patuxet. In its present state, it is 16 miles long, from north to south, and from 5 to 16 miles in breadth. It is bounded by Kingston on the north, Plympton and Carver west, Wareham southwest, and Sandwich, south. The whole extent on the east is bounded by the sea shore. It is situated in latitude 41° 58′, and is 38 miles south of Boston. The bay, or harbor, at the head of which the town stands is formed by a narrow beach, which extends from Marshfield southerly six miles, the head of which is a high knoll, called Gurnet, on which stands the light-house; and by another beach, which extends from the mouth of Eel River in Plymouth, northerly about three miles. Within the Gurnet nose, and not very remote from the point of Plymouth beach, is situated Saquish and Clark's Island. Saquish is connected with the Gurnet by a narrow beach. On the shores of this bay, northerly, are situated the villages of Duxbury and Kingston.

History. The imperious causes justly assigned by the Pilgrims for their abandonment of their native soil, the numerous obstacles which they were called to en-

counter, and their preparations for the hazardous voyage cannot be admitted within the designed limits of this work, but the inquisitive reader is referred to more elaborate histories, for general information. I shall therefore commence my undertaking with the period when the exiles first reached the shores of unexplored New England, and were in search for the most eligible place for settlement; and where is the event in Divine Providence more worthy of particular and grateful commemoration? It is a delightful task to retrospect to those interesting scenes when, in every step, we discover a christian's faith and holy zeal, and in every exigence, the guidance and protection of Almighty power and wisdom. While the establishment of a colony and an Independent Church was their primary object, it was ordained, that our fathers should be the founders of an empire. It will be my pleasing employment to search ancient records, and collate the memorials of their cheerless days. Not a step do we take, but we trace the footsteps of the pilgrims; our possessions have been their possessions; not the town only, but the whole country is a monument of their sacrifices. In portraying the history of the town, we disclose the essential elements of the puritan character, and demonstrate the noble spirit by which the puritans were actuated. 'Of all monuments,' says an elegant writer, 'raised to the memory of distinguished men, the most appropriate, and the least exceptionable, are those, whose foundations are laid in their own works, and which are constructed of materials, supplied and wrought by their own labors.'—*J. Quincy, Esq's. Life of his Father.*

It is incumbent, therefore, on the historian, faithfully and impartially to transmit to posterity these *materials*, that the noble fabric may with facility be constructed. The Mayflower, according to secretary Morton, was of burden about nine score, or 180 tons, of which Mr. Jones was master. This ship after many discouraging

vicissitudes sailed from Plymouth, their last English port, September 6, 1620; and having experienced a perilous voyage, they made the land of Cape Cod on the 9th of November, and on the 11th, old style,* anchored safely in the harbor, having on board 101 English settlers, including 28 females who accompanied their husbands, and 42 children and servants. On their arrival their spirits aspired to heaven, and, falling on their knees, they blessed God who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from many perils and miseries.

Their original destination was Hudson's River, that they might be within the Virginia patent; but the Captain, being bribed by the Dutch Governor, conducted them to New England, which placed them beyond the protection of English charters. This providential event, however, proved auspicious to their enterprise, as the native inhabitants of this place had been destroyed by pestilence a few years before. On the day of their arrival at Cape Cod, they landed 15 or 16 men, headed by Capt. Miles Standish, well armed, to procure wood and reconnoitre the place. They immediately commenced repairing the shallop, that they might explore the harbors and shores. Well aware of the indispensable necessity of adopting a salutary form of government

* Style is old and new. The correction of the calendar by Pope Gregory, in 1582, was not adopted by the British parliament till 1751, when it was directed that eleven days in September, 1752, should be retrenched, and the third day of that month was reckoned the fourteenth. This mode of reckoning is called *new style*, and the year was made to commence on the first of January instead of the twenty-fifth of March. Before the year 1752, there was sometimes a confusion in dates, being difficult to determine whether January, February and a part of March closed the year, or began the new one. Hence the mode of double dates, as March 20th, 1676-7. This would be 1676 old style, because it would lack five days to complete the year; but in the new style it would be '77, because according to that style the year commenced the first of January, and March is the third month in the new year. The double dating has not been practised since the year 1752. See note on pp. 23, 24.

to restrain the vicious and the perverse, after solemnly invoking the throne of grace, they unamimously subscribed to the following judicious compact.

'In the name of God, amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britian, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. having undertaken for the glory of God and advancement of the christian faith and honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and of one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws and ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient, for the general good of the colony, unto which we promise all due subjection and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the 11th day of November, in the year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King James of England, France and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Domini 1620.'

This compact was subscribed in the following order by

	No. in family.		No. in family.
Mr. John Carver †	8	John. Alden	1
Mr. William Bradford †	2	Mr. Samuel Fuller	2
Mr. Edward Winslow †	5	* Mr. Christopher Martin †	4
Mr. William Brewster †	6		
Mr. Isaac Allerton †	6	* Mr. William Mullins †	5
Capt. Miles Standish †	2	* Mr. William White †	5

* Those with this mark brought their wives.

† Those who died before the end of the next March are distinguished by an asterisk.

	No. in family.
(Besides a son born in Cape Cod harbor, and named Peregrine)	
Mr. Richard Warren	
John Howland (of Carver's family)	
* Edward Fuller †	3
* John Turner	3
Francis Eaton †	3
* James Chilton †	3
* John Crackston	2
John Bellington †	4
* Moses Fletcher	1
* John Goodman	1
* Degory Priest	1
* Thomas Williams	1
Gilbert Winslow	1
* Edward Margeson	1
Peter Brown	1
* Richard Butteridge	1
George Soule (of Edward Winslow's family)	
Mr. Stephen Hopkins †	8
* Edward Tilley †	4
* John Tilley †	3
Francis Cook	2
* Thomas Rogers	2
* Thomas Tinker †	3
* John Ridgdale †	2
* Richard Clarke	1
Richard Gardiner	1
* John Allerton	1
* Thomas English	1
Edward Dotey, Edward Leister (both of Stephen Hopkin's family.)	

'This brief, and comprehensive, and simple instrument established a most important principle, a principle which is the foundation of all the democratic institutions of America, and is the basis of the republic ; and however it may be expanded and complicated in our various constitutions, however unequally power may be distinguished in the different branches of our various governments, has imparted to each its strongest and most striking characteristic.

Many philosophers have since appeared, who have, in labored treatises, endeavored to prove the doctrine, that the rights of man are unalienable, and nations have bled to defend and enforce them ; yet in this dark age the age of despotism and superstition, when no tongue dared to assert, and no pen to write this bold and novel doctrine, which was then as much at defiance with common opinion as with actual power, of which the monarch was then held to be the sole fountain, and the theory was universal, that all popular rights were

granted by the crown, in this remote wilderness amongst a small and unknown band of wandering outcasts, the principle *that the will of the majority of the people shall govern*, was first conceived, and was first practically exemplified.

The pilgrims, from their notions of primitive christianity, the force of circumstances, and that pure moral feeling which is the offspring of true religion, discovered a truth in the science of government which had been concealed for ages. On the bleak shore of a barren wilderness, in the midst of desolation, with the blast of winter howling around them, and surrounded with dangers in their most awful and appalling forms, the pilgrims of Leyden laid the foundation of American liberty.'—*Baylis, vol.* i. *p.* 29.

John Carver was elected to officiate as Governor for one year. Seventeen days elapsed before the shallop could be repaired fit for service; during the interval the new comers employed themselves in exploring the shores in the long-boat, and traversing the woods on Cape Cod. On Monday, November 13th, the women were set ashore to wash, and their shallop brought on shore for repairs. The men formed a company to travel into the interior to view the land, and endeavor to discover the inhabitants: they were commanded by Capt. Miles Standish, well armed, and master Jones, of the Mayflower, being desirous of joining in the excursion, was made their leader. They spent two or three days ranging the woods, and saw five Indians at some distance, but they were shy and made their escape. They discovered no houses, but found a large iron ship's kettle, and near it a considerable quantity of Indian corn in the ears, of various colors, buried under ground in handsome baskets. This was a new article to the settlers, and they availed themselves of the opportunity to supply their wants. They carried away the kettle and a quantity of corn with the honest intention of replacing it when opportunity should offer, which they eventually did.

The place which they visited was Pamet River, now in Truro. Whilst wandering in the woods they observed a young sappling bent down to the earth, and some acorns strewed underneath. Stephen Hopkins said it was a deer trap; Mr. William Bradford, afterwards governor, stepping too near, it gave a sudden jerk up and caught him by the leg; it was said to have been a very pretty device, made with a rope of Indian fabric, and having a noose so ingeniously contrived as to answer all the purposes of entrapping deer. When the shallop was fit for service, 34 men embarked in her, and in the long-boat, on an excursion to explore the shores in search of a place for settlement. They landed at the mouth of Pamet River, in Truro, to which they gave the name of Cold Harbor, the weather being extremely cold and stormy. From hence they marched several miles into the woods, without making any satisfactory discovery, but shot two geese and six ducks, which served them well for supper. In their travels they found sundry sand heaps, under which they found Indian corn, and named the place Corn Hill. They found also two or three baskets of Indian wheat, a bag of beans, and a bottle of oil. From this store they took to themselves about ten bushels of corn and beans, which afforded them essential relief, and supplied them with seed corn, for which they resolved to make restitution. Having marched 5 or 6 miles into the woods, they saw neither houses nor inhabitants, but came to a large square, having the appearance of a capacious burial-place. On digging in the ground, they met with mats, a bow, a carved board, bowls, trays, dishes, and trinkets. Under a large new mat were two bundles; on opening the largest, was discovered a quantity of fine red powder, in which was enveloped the bones and skull of a man. The skull was covered with yellow hair, and there were bound up with it a knife, a packneedle, and pieces of old iron. It was bound up in a sailor's canvas cassock and a pair of cloth breeches.

The red powder was a kind of embalment, and yielded a strong but not offensive smell. In the lesser package was the same kind of powder, and the bones and head of a little child; about the legs and some other parts were bound strings and bracelets of fine white beads: there were also a little bow and some trinkets. Whilst searching in the woods, two of the sailors discovered two Indian houses, from which the inhabitants had lately departed. They were formed with long young sapling trees, bended, and both ends stuck into the ground and covered, tops and sides, with well-wrought mats. Within were found wooden bowls, trays, and dishes, earthen pots, hand-baskets made of crab-shells wrought together, also an English pail or bucket. Here were also deers' heads and horns, deers' feet, eagles' claws, two or three baskets full of parched acorns, and pieces of fish and herring.

It now became a question with the settlers whether Cape Cod should be adopted as their permanent residence, or search be made for a more eligible situation. In their deliberation on the occasion, different opinions resulted. In favor of the place it was alleged, 1. that the harbor was convenient for boats though not for ships: 2. there was good corn ground, as was evident by the remaining stubble: 3. it is a place of profitable fishing; large whales of the best kind for oil and bone, came daily along side and played about the ship. The master and his mate, and others experienced in fishing, preferred it to Greenland whale-fishery, and asserted that were they provided with the proper implements £3,000 or £4,000 worth of oil might be obtained: 4. the place was likely to prove healthful, secure and defensible. But the last and special reason was the unfavorable season, being the middle of winter, the weather exceedingly tempestuous, cold and stormy, every movement attended with imminent danger. And whether a more convenient place could be found, was very doubtful, as no one was acquainted with the coun-

try. On the other hand, it was urged, 1. that the shore was so shallow that the men were obliged to wade in water over their knees in going to and from their shallop, by which many had taken colds and coughs, whereof some had died: 2. there was a place called Agawam, alias Angawam, (Ipswich,) about 20 leagues to the northward, which had been reported as an excellent harbor for ships, better soil, and better fishing: 3. there might be at no great distance a better seat, and it would be unfortunate to locate where they should be obliged to remove again: 4. there was a scarcity of water there, and none could be had without bringing it up a steep hill. Besides, Robert Coppin, the pilot, affirmed that there was a navigable river and good harbor in the other head-land of this bay, over against Cape Cod, about eight leagues distance, where he had once been, and where a native having stolen a harping iron from them, they named the place Thievish Harbor. It was at length resolved to endeavor to make some further discovery within the bay, but not to range so far as Agawam. About this time an incident occurred which might have been attended with fatal consequences. A son of Francis Billington in the absence of his father, having procured some gun-powder, made squibs and fired them, and finding his father's fowling-piece charged, shot her off in the cabin where there was a small barrel half full of powder, and many people near the fire, but no one was injured.

On Wednesday, December 6th, the company sailed on a third excursion for discovery; the weather was so intensely cold that the water froze every moment on their clothes, and two of the men were greatly overcome. On their approach to the shore at Eastham, they discovered 10 or 12 Indians engaged in cutting up a grampus, but they soon fled. Two other grampuses were dead on the shore, having been cast on the land; the fat on their sides was two inches thick, affording abundance of oil. The English landed on

the shore, made a barricado, planted sentinels, and took lodgings beside a fire, and saw the smoke from the Indian's fire 4 or 5 miles from them. In the morning part of the company kept in the shallop, and the rest ranged the woods. A large burial-place was discovered, partly encompassed with a palisado, like a churchyard, and filled with graves of various sizes. At night they took their lodgings in the shallop, and at about midnight hideous cries were heard, and the sentinel called, arms! arms! but by firing two guns the noise ceased. About five o'clock in the morning the noises were renewed and they had only time to cry out 'Indians! Indians!' when the arrows came flying thick about them. The English ran with all speed to receive their guns, and in a moment bullets were exchanged for arrows, but no exchange could be a match for the dreadful Indian yells. There was a lusty Indian, supposed to be their captain, who placed himself behind a tree, discharged three arrows, and stood three shots from a musket, till at length a charge struck the tree, when he gave a horrid yell, and fled. Eighteen of their arrows were taken up and sent to their friends in England, by master Jones, of the Mayflower; some were headed with brass, some with deer's horns, and others with eagles' claws; but the contest ended without bloodshed on either side. It was about this time that the wife of William White was favored with the birth of a son, whom they named Peregrine, being the first English child born in New England.*

After the skirmish with the Indians, the pilgrims rendered thanks to God for their preservation, and named

* William White died in the ensuing spring. His widow, Susannah, married the celebrated Edward Winslow, who was the third Governor of the colony; this marriage was solemnized May 12th, 1621, and was the first marriage in New England; and she was the mother of Peregrine White, the first child born of English parents in the colony. Peregrine White died at Marshfield, July 20th, 1704, aged 83 years and 8 months.

the place the First Encounter. In the afternoon of the same day, December 8th, the shallop departed from the cape on a cruise of discovery, with the following persons on board :—Governor Carver, Mr. William Bradford,* Edward Winslow, Capt. Miles Standish, John Howland, Mr. Warren, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Edward Tilly, Mr. John Tilly, Mr. Clark, John Allerton, Thomas English, and Edward Dotey, together with Coppin, the pilot, the master gunner of the ship, and three of the common seamen, making eighteen in the whole. The pilot assured them that there was a harbor of which he had some knowledge, which they could reach before night.† They were in the afternoon overtaken by a violent storm, the wind and rain increasing, and the sea raging with rough and heavy surges, by which the hinges of their rudder were broken, and they were obliged to steer the shallop by oars in the hands of two men stationed at the helm. Not long after in their severe struggle their mast was severed into three pieces, and the sails went overboard. In passing the point called the Gurnet's nose, at the mouth of Plymouth harbor, the pilot finding himself deceived, and greatly alarmed, exclaimed '*Lord be merciful!*' my eyes never saw this place before ; and he with the master's mate would have run the boat ashore before the wind in a cove among breakers ; which cove is between the Gurnet head and Saquish point. But a more resolute seamen at the helm making uncommon exertions, and urging the oarsmen, the boat was with difficulty put about, and they fortunately reached the lee of a small island, in the midst of a heavy rain, and the darkness of night, where they came safe to anchor, and in the night they landed and kindled a fire. The next morning

* While at anchor in Cape Cod harbor, on December 7th, Mrs. Dorothy Bradford, wife of Mr. William Bradford, accidentally fell overboard from the Mayflower, and was drowned, to the great grief of her husband, who was absent in the shallop at the time.

† It is not improbable that the pilot had visited this shore with Capt. Smith or Hunt, in 1614.

they found that the island was uninhabited, and as it was the last day of the week, and extremely cold, they employed themselves in drying their clothes, cleaning their arms, and repairing their shallop. The following day, the tenth, being the christian sabbath, and the first ever observed in New England, they devoted themselves in pious gratitude for their preservation and safe arrival. As Mr. Clark, the master's mate was the first to land on the island, it received his name, which it still retains.*

On Monday, the 11th day of December, O. S. they proceeded from the island in their shallop, to sound and examine the harbor, and to their unspeakable joy, found it commodious and 'fit for shipping.' A part of their number, no names mentioned, landed, went some distance into the country, and examined the territory contiguous to the shore, where they found cleared land which had been planted with Indian corn, two or three years before, and a beautiful running brook, and numerous springs of the purest water were discovered. Having selected this as the most eligible situation for a permanent settlement yet discovered, they re-embarked on board the shallop and returned to the ship, at Cape Cod, announcing to the anxious pilgrims the joyful tidings of their discoveries, and the cheering prospects which Providence had opened to their view. This, then, is to be considered as the first stepping on the Rock of the Pilgrims from the shallop belonging to the Mayflower, and this is the *birth day of our nation.* The day which has been annually celebrated in commemoration of this momentous event, the landing of the forefathers, is the twenty-second of December, N. S. which has hitherto been supposed to correspond with the eleventh, O. S; but to reconcile the difference between old and new style in the century in which

* See a tradition respecting this when describing the island, latter end of the volume.

they arrived, only ten days, instead of eleven, should be added to their computation, which would make the day of the landing correspond to the twenty-first, N. S. If therefore, it be desirable to celebrate the precise portion of time corresponding with their date, as it undoubtedly is, the twenty-first and not the twenty-second of December should be commemorated as Forefathers Day.*

* The day of the landing by the exploring party in the shallop was Monday, December 11th, 1620, old style. This is established by the united testimony of Morton's Memorial, Mourt's Relation, and Governor Bradford's MS. History, as copied by Prince. In determining the anniversary of that day for any year whatever, the question occurs, what is the difference between O. S. and N. S. for 1620?

By order of Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, ten days were omitted in the Julian calendar, then in use, and the 5th of October was reckoned the 15th. This was done for the following reason. The Julian calendar proceeded on the supposition that the year was 365 days and 6 hours; but the time in which the sun performs his annual revolution is not exactly 365 days 6 hours, but 365 days 5 hours 48 minutes and 45½ seconds. The civil year, therefore, exceeded the solar by 11 minutes 14½ seconds, which in about 130 years amounted to a whole day, i. e. the true equinox would precede the civil one by about a day in 130 years. In the year 1582, this anticipation of the equinox had amounted to 10 days, so that the vernal equinox was now found to happen on the 11th of March instead of the 21st, as it ought to have done if the Julian calendar had agreed with the course of the sun. The Pope, therefore, ordered the 10 days to be suppressed; and, to preserve the accuracy of the calendar from that time; it was ordered that three days should continue to be dropped every 400 years, which was nearly equivolent to one day every 130 years. Instead, however, of suppressing a day every 130th year, whether common or leap year, it was thought preferable to make the correction in leap year only, thus leaving always 365 days at least in the year. Now in the former method of reckoning, every 100th year was a leap year; but it was ordered by the Pope, that every 400th year only should be considered as leap year, and the other centurial years reckoned as common years; the year 1600, however, being still continued as leap year. By making, therefore, the years 1700, 1800, and 1900 to be common years instead of leap years, as they would have been in the old style, the error arising from the odd time would be properly corrected.

The difference, then, between O. S. and N. S. in 1582 was ten days, and this continued to be the difference until 1700, the leap year being preserved in 1600; from 1700 to 1800, it was eleven days, because 1700 in O. S. was a leap year, and therefore, another

Immediately on receiving the happy intelligence, the Mayflower weighed anchor, and proceeded to the newly discovered harbor, where she anchored in safety on the sixteenth of December, O. S., and terminated her perilous voyage. Four of the passengers had died at Cape Cod. The weather for several days continued boisterous and intensely cold.

On the eighteenth and nineteenth the master of the ship, Mr. Jones, and three or four sailors, explored the land contiguous to the harbor, but could discover neither houses nor inhabitants. On the morning of the twentieth, after imploring Heaven for guidance, a considerable number landed with a view of selecting a location for settlement. The place selected was the high ground on the bank facing the bay, where the

day was to be suppressed; from 1800 to 1900, twelve days; from 1900 to 2000, thirteen days; and from 2000 to 2100, still thirteen days; because 2000 is a leap year in both styles. Of course, then, the 11th of December, 1620, O. S. corresponds to the 21st of December, N. S.—the year 1600 being reckoned as a leap year, and, therefore, no day being dropped in that century. Now in the year 1769, when the Old Colony Club fixed upon the day of their celebration, the difference of styles had become, for that century, 11 days, because the year 1700 was, as above stated, reckoned as a common year, and therefore, an additional day was dropped. For the same reason, the difference of styles for the present century is 12 days. But the true question is and should have been by the Old Colony Club, what is the difference of styles for 1620, and that is the true difference for that time, and continues so forever.—*See Rees' Cyclopedia, articles Calendar and Style.—Judge Davis's letter in regard to the settlement of Boston.—Judge Davis's communication in O. C. Memorial, Sept.* 4, 1830. *American Almanac, Vol.* i. *(in which however, there is an inaccuracy in stating this matter.)*

The above calculation is corroborated in the following manner: By finding the Dominical Letter for 1620, O. S. which is A, it appears that the 11th of December that year fell on Monday, conformably to our historians. By finding the Dominical Letter for 1620, N. S. which is D, it appears that the 21st of December for that year would fall also on Monday, and the 22d on Tuesday, &c.—*See the table in American Almanac, Vol.* iii. *p.* 72.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the 21st of December, in any year, is the day corresponding to the 11th of December, 1620, O. S. and is the true day of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth.

land had been cleared, and corn planted by the natives a few years before. Here were numerous springs of the purest water, and a brook emptying its current into the harbor. Here also was a high hill well situated for a fortification to command the surrounding country, and affording a fine prospect across the bay. A violent storm arose at night, and the weather continued so tempestuous for two or three days, that these people were unable to return on board, and remained on shore without shelter. On Saturday, the twenty-third, another party bid adieu to the Mayflower, went on shore and began to fell and carry timber, and make preparations for the construction of their house of common rendezvous. On the twenty-fourth, (Sabbath) the people on shore were alarmed, by the cry of Indians, from whom an attack was expected, but it proved a false alarm. The pilgrims were now about to change the perils of the ocean, not for a friendly, hospitable shore—not to receive the fond embrace of affectionate relatives and friends, but to encounter the storms of winter in an unexplored wilderness, and to listen to the appalling yells of the savages.* But it was their consolation that they had disenthralled themselves from religious tyranny and persecution, and found an asylum of religious liberty and civil freedom for themselves and posterity. From the reports of those who had been on shore, they painted to their sanguine imaginations a capacious harbor and bay containing two islands, abounding in wild fowl, fish of various kinds, and a good growth of timber on shore. On Monday, the

* Had the month of December, 1620, been as inclement as the present December, 1831, when our harbor and shores on all sides are a body of ice, and the thermometer below zero, those whom we honor and revere as our fathers and mothers, must have fallen a sacrifice to the season. But their courage and fortitude were undoubtedly supported by the reflection, that when God decrees some momentous event, his instruments are prepared, and will be preserved; as were Joseph, Moses and, Joshua, and we may add, Columbus and Washington.

twenty-fifth, they began their common house, which was twenty feet square, for rendezvous and for stores; no man was suffered to remain idle, although many of them, from a long voyage, were affected with scurvy, and others, from uncommon exposure to storms of snow and rain, were suffering under severe indisposition. Such was their industry, that in four days one half of their store house was thatched.* It was one of their first objects to provide for their security by a platform for their ordnance, which they begun on the twenty-eighth, on a high hill. On the same day they divided their whole company into nineteen families, that fewer houses might suffice, and measured out the ground, assigning to every person by lot half a pole in breadth and three poles in length, for house lot and garden. It was stipulated that every man should build his own house, but the whole to be built in two rows and compact for greater security against the Indians. The inclemency of the weather and their own feeble health were essential impediments to their progress in erecting their houses, and many families were detained on board the ship till shelter could be provided on shore.

December 31*st*, *Lord's day.* Although most of the company were on board the ship almost a mile and half from shore, yet those who had landed kept the sabbath for the first time in their new house. 'Here therefore, is fixed the era of their settlement, which in grateful remembrance of the christian friends, whom they left in the last town which they visited in their native country, they called *New Plymouth.* This was the foundation of the first English town built in New England.'—*Holmes's Ann.*

Place of their location.—The place in which the settlers first located themselves for a town, is the whole ex-

* In the year 1801, in digging a cellar, sundry tools and a plate of iron were discovered seven feet under the surface of the earth, on the spot where tradition places the common house, which is on the south side of Leyden street, near the declivity of the hill.

tent of our Leyden street and its environs. This street was laid out by them when planning the town, and extends from the town square in a gradual descent to the shore, and terminates a little distance south from the memorable rock. During the first winter, the settlers buried their dead on the banks of the shore near their own dwellings, since called *Cole's Hill*, taking especial care to level the earth to conceal from the Indians the number and frequency of deaths. Dr. Holmes mentions a tradition that the graves at that spot, after the great mortality in the first stage of the settlement, were levelled and sown, to conceal the extent of their loss from the natives. An aged gentleman, Hon. Ephraim Spooner, since deceased, who gave this information to Dr. Holmes, received it from Elder Faunce, who died 1745, in the 99th year of his age, and who was well acquainted with some of the first settlers. Hon. Judge Davis relates that he has often had similar information from an aged lady, Mrs. White, who died at Plymouth, a few years since, and who in early life was familiar in the family of Elder Faunce. It has always been supposed that the remains of Governor Carver were deposited on Cole's Hill, and it is to be regretted that no stone was erected to designate the spot.

On reviewing the place where the puritan fathers first erected their rude comfortless huts, and where Carver and half of his associates closed their mortal career during the first winter, surely enthusiasm enough will never be wanting to consecrate the ground with tears, and to proclaim its sacredness to future generations. It is the ground, where, unshielded from the rigors of a boisterous season, our ancestors were compelled to erect citadels of defence against the attacks of cruel savages, while their hearts were pierced with the keenest anguish by the arrows of death depriving them of rulers, parents, husbands and children!

The Rock. The identical rock, on which the sea-wearied Pilgrims first leaped from the shallop coming

from the Mayflower, has never been a subject of doubtful designation. The fact was transmitted from father to son, particularly in the instance of Elder Faunce, as would be transmitted the richest inheritance, by unquestionable tradition. About the year 1741, it was represented to Elder Faunce that a wharf was to be erected over the rock, which impressed his mind with deep concern, and excited a strong desire to take a last farewell of the cherished object. He was then ninety-five years old, and resided three miles from the place. A chair was procured, and the venerable man conveyed to the shore, where a number of the inhabitants were assembled to witness the patriarch's benediction. Having pointed out the rock directly under the bank of Cole's Hill, which his father had assured him was that which had received the footsteps of our fathers on their first arrival, and which should be perpetuated to posterity, he bedewed it with his tears and bid to it an everlasting adieu. These facts were testified to by the late venerable Deacon Spooner, who at the age of fifteen years, was present on the interesting occasion. Standing on this rock therefore, we may fancy a magic power ushering us into the presence of our fathers. The hallowed associations which cluster around that precious memorial, inspires sentiments of love of country, and a sacred reverence for its primitive institutions. In contemplation, we may hold communion with celestial spirits, and receive monitions from those who are at rest in their graves. What honors shall we pay to the fathers of our country, the founders of that empire, which through ages shall remain the rich abode of knowledge, religion, freedom, and virtue! Criminal, indeed, would be our case were we not to cherish a religious sense of the exalted privileges inherited from our pious ancestors, and resolve to transmit them unimpaired to our children. Where is the New Englander that would be willing to have that rock buried out of sight and forgotten?

'The man that is not mov'd with what he reads,
That takes not fire at their heroic deeds,
Unworthy of the blessings of the brave,
Is base in kind, and born to be a slave' COWPER.

Common tradition renders the point doubtful, whether Mary Chilton, or John Alden, have the best claim to the honor of being the first who leaped on the rock, and gained possession of New England ground. No investigation can now decide the claim, be it more or less important to those concerned. The name of John Alden is not included in the list of those who landed from the shallop on the eleventh of December, and it is not supposable that a lady would subject herself to such hazard and inconvenience; besides, such an exploit in a female must have been considered as deserving particular record at the time. The tradition which renders the fact questionable must have had reference to the boats which landed with the families after the Mayflower arrived in Plymouth harbor. The point of precedence must however remain undecided, since the closest investigation discloses no authority for the tradition, nor a shadow of evidence in favor of any individual as being the first who landed.* In the year 1774, when liberty, and the rights of man were

* 'Among those who came in the Mayflower, were Richard Chilton, (who died the first winter) Mary and Susannah Chilton. Mary it is said, married John Winslow, and Susanna Mr. Latham. The descendants of Mr. Winslow are in Boston, and Mr. Latham in Bridgewater. The tradition we have reason to believe is in both families. We are disposed, however, to generalize the anecdote. The first generation, doubtless, knew who came on shore in the first boats; the second generation related it with less identity; the third and fourth with still less; like the stone thrown into the calm lake, the circle, well defined at first, become fainter as they recede. For the purposes of the arts, however, a female figure, typical of faith, hope, and charity, is well adapted.'—*His. Col. vol.* 3, *series* 2, *p.* 174. *By Samuel Davis.*

'As there is a great degree of uncertainty on this subject, it is not only grateful, but allowable, to indulge the imagination, and we expect from the friends of John Alden, that they should give place to the lady.'—*Judge Davis's Edit. Morton's Memorial.*

the popular themes, it was determined to remove the hallowed rock from its original bed to the town square near the church and court house, that it might be located beside the liberty pole. [This will be further noticed in this work under date of 1774.]

January 1st 1621.—About this date Francis Billington having mounted the top of a tree on a high hill, discovered at a distance, as he supposed, another great sea, and on the eighth of December went with one of the master's mates to take a view of the place. They found the water divided into two lakes, the larger five or six miles compass, the smaller three miles.

January 12th.—Two of the settlers, John Goodman and Peter Brown, being abroad gathering thatch, came to a lake of water, (probably our Murdock's pond) near which they discovered a fine large deer; their two dogs chased the animal, and the men followed till they were lost, and could not find their way back. They wandered till night, being lightly clad and without weapons or food, amidst frost and snow; they were obliged to make the cold earth their bed, and the clouds their covering. In the night they were greatly alarmed by noises which they supposed to be the roaring of lions. In their fright they mounted a tree for safety, which they found to be an intolerable cold lodging, and they sometimes walked under the tree in readiness to climb, holding their bitch by the neck lest she should rush into the lions' paws. But fortunately the lions came not, and at early dawn they renewed their wandering, which they continued through the day. At night they reached the settlement almost famished with cold and hunger, and having mistaken the howling of wolves for the roaring of lions.

Their friends at the settlement, being greatly alarmed on account of their absence, sent out ten or twelve armed men, who traversed the woods all day in vain, and returned with strong apprehensions that they were taken by the Indians. It was not long after the

arrival of the planters, that the natives assembled all their pawaws in a dark swamp, to curse the new comers; for three days they continued their horrid incantation, and consigned the English to utter destruction. It is to be regretted that we cannot ascertain the spot where this swamp was located, nor the particular tribe that were the actors in this diabolical business.

January 14th.—The settlers had the misfortune of their common house taking fire, from a spark falling among the dry thatch, and it was entirely consumed. It was remarkable that at the moment of this disaster, Governor Carver, and Mr. William Bradford were sick in their beds, the floor of the house was covered with beds and bedding, muskets were loaded, and a quantity of powder was stored within, yet little damage was sustained. The people on board the ship, seeing the fire, and unable to come on shore by reason of low tide and very tempestuous weather, were under painful apprehensions that the savages had attacked them. Being Sunday, and the major part of the people on shore, they performed public worship in their settlement.

January 19th.—John Goodman, who had been lost in the woods, took it into his head again to ramble into the woods; having a spaniel with him, it was soon attacked by two wolves. The dog flew to the legs of his master for safety, and he having no weapon, snatched a stick for defence; the wolves sat some time on their tails grinning and snarling at the affrighted man, but at length suffered him to escape.

The wife of Capt. Standish, and some others of their number, died this month.

February.—Twelve Indians were discovered in the woods, but no interview could be had with them. A general meeting was called to establish some military arrangements, and Miles Standish was chosen Captain, and vested with command accordingly. During the meeting, two Indians presented themselves on the top of the hill, on the opposite side of the brook, and made

signs for the English to come to them, but, on the approach of Captain Standish and Mr. Hopkins, they fled from them.

21*st*.–Capt. Jones, of the Mayflower, brought on shore one of the great pieces of cannon, called a *minion*, and he and his sailors assisted them to drag that, and another piece, up the hill, with three small pieces, which they mounted for defence.

The settlers suffered extremely this month by sickness and death : no less than seventeen of their number died during the month ; and the sick were destitute of almost all the comforts which their miserable condition rendered indispensable. Their sufferings were increased by the want of well persons to perform the duties among the sick, there being, at one time, not more than six or seven in tolerable health. But it is recorded, that Standish and Brewster manifested the tenderest concern, and devoted themselves, with unwearied assiduity, to the relief and comfort of their suffering brethren, not declining the meanest office.

March 3*d*.–The weather was fair and warm, and the planters were delighted to hear the singing of American birds in the woods.

16*th*.—Much surprise was excited by the appearance of an Indian who boldly walked to the rendezvous, and saluted cheeringly in broken English 'Welcome Englishmen, welcome Englishmen.' This was Samoset, a Sagamore, who had come from Monhigan, (District of Maine,) where he had learned something of the English tongue from the Captains of the fishing vessels on that shore, and he knew by name most of those commanders. This was the first savage with whom the whites had obtained an interview. No incident could have diffused greater joy in the hearts of the disconsolate and the infirm ; it seemed like an angelic herald to the sick and dying. Samoset discoursed as though he possessed a general knowledge of the whole surrounding country, and the numbers and strength of the

several tribes. He said that the place they now occupy is called Patuxet, and that about four years ago all the natives died of an extraordinary plague; that there was neither man, woman, nor child remaining in the territory, of which the English had now possessed themselves. He was a tall, erect man, and had a bow and two arrows. The English treated him with their best food and drink; and as he was inclined to tarry all night, they provided him a lodging and watched his movements. The next day he returned to a neighboring tribe, from whence he said he last came. The Nausets he represented as being highly incensed and provoked against the English, three of whom were, about eight months ago, slain by the Nausets. Their enmity was caused by one Hunt, a master of a ship who a few years ago deceived the natives, and, under pretence of trading with them, got twenty of the people of this very place, Patuxet, and seven from the Nausets, on board his ship, and carried them off and sold them for slaves, for twenty pounds a head.

On his departure, the English gave him a knife, a bracelet, and a ring; and he promised to return soon and bring other natives with him, with such beaver skins as they could collect. Not many days after, being Sunday, Samoset returned with five tall savages, dressed in deer skins, and the principal had a wild-cat's skin on one arm, their hair cut short before, but long to their shoulders behind, and ornamented with feathers and fox tails. Their faces were painted in various colors and figures. They left their bows and arrows at some distance from the settlement, according to the charge given by the English to Samoset. They made signs of amity and friendship, and entertained the English with their dancing and singing, and they in return gave them a suitable entertainment. They brought with them some corn, parched and reduced to a fine powder, called ho-cake, which they eat mixed with water; and they had a little tobacco

in a bag, of which they drank* frequently. They brought with them, also, all the tools belonging to the English, which had been taken when left in the woods. They offered a few skins to trade, but, being Sunday, the English dismissed them soon, desiring them to return with more skins, which they promised. But Samoset either was sick, or feigned himself so, and would tarry till the next Wednesday, when the English gave him a hat, a pair of stockings and shoes, shirt, &c. and sent him to inquire why his friends did not return.

Thursday, April 2d.—Samoset arrived, bringing with him Squanto, alias Tisquantum, the only surviving native of Patuxet, who was one of the twenty captives carried away by the infamous Hunt; he had been in England, and could speak a little English. Three others came with him, and brought a few skins to truck and some red herring, newly taken and dried, but not salted. They informed, that their great Sagamore, Massasoit, was approaching, with Quadequina, his brother, and all their tribe, and, within an hour, the king appeared on the top of a hill opposite, and had in his train sixty men, which he displayed to view. This hill is on the south side of Town brook, and is called Watson's hill, but the brook, where they forded, is now covered with an arch stone bridge. Both parties being unwilling to advance, Squanto went over to Massasoit, and returned with the message, that he desired peace and a trade with the English. The governor then sent Mr. Edward Winslow, with a pair of knives and a copper chain with a jewel in it, for the king, and for Quadequina a knife and a jewel to hang in his ear, and a pot of strong water, a quantity of biscuit, and some butter, all which were well received. Mr. Winslow addressed Massasoit in the name of king James, assuring him, that the king saluted him with words of love

* The term drinking tobacco is frequently used in the records: it probably means using tobacco by smoking.

and peace, and did accept of him as his friend and ally; and that the governor desired to see him, and to confirm a trade and peace with him as his next neighbor. Massasoit was well pleased with the speech, and after eating and drinking, he gave the remains to his people. He looked on Mr. Winslow's sword and armor with a desire to buy it, but he refused to gratify him. Massasoit now left Mr. Winslow in the custody of Quadequina, his brother, and came over the brook with twenty men, leaving all their bows and arrows behind them. Captain Standish and Mr. Williamson, with six musketeers, met the king at the brook, and each party saluted the other, when the king was conducted to a house then in building, where were placed a green rug and three or four cushions. Governor Carver now appeared with a drum and trumpet, with a few musketeers. After salutations, the governor kissed the king's hand, who, in return, kissed him, and they seated themselves; but the king all the time trembled for fear. The governor called for some strong water and drank to him, and he drank a copious draught, which made him sweat a long time after. Massasoit and his people having partook of some fresh meat, the following terms of peace were mutually agreed to.

1. That neither he, nor any of his, should injure, or do hurt, to any of the English.

2. If any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.

3. That if any of our tools were taken away, when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored, and if ours did harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.

4. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us.

5. He should send to his neighbor confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.

6. That when their men came, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, king James would esteem him as his friend and ally.* The above treaty was pleasing to the Sachem and approved by his people.† In his person the king was a lusty, able-bodied man, and grave in his countenance. His attire differed little from that of his people, except a great chain of white bone beads about his neck. His face was painted with a dull, red like murry, and oiled, both head and face, so that he looked greasily.' He had in his bosom, hanging in a string, a large long knife; he marvelled much at the trumpet, and made some attempts to sound it. All his followers were painted of divers colors, some were clothed with skins, and some were naked. Samoset and Squanto tarried all night with the English, and the king and his people, with their wives and children, spent the night in the adjacent woods. They said that within eight or nine days, they would come and set corn on the other side of the brook, and dwell there all summer. That night the English kept a good watch, but no danger occurred, and the next morning several of the savages visited the English, with the hope, as supposed, of obtaining some food. Some of them said the king wished some of the English to come and see

* The New Plymouth associates, by the favor of the Almighty, began the colony in New England, at a place called by the natives, Apaum, alias Patuxet; all the lands being void of inhabitants, we the said John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, and the rest of our associates, entering into a league of peace with Massasoit, since called Woosamequin, Prince or sachem of those parts: he the said Massasoit, freely gave them all the lands adjacent to them, and their heirs forever.' ['Preface to Plymouth laws, declaring the warrantable grounds and proceeding of the government of New Plymouth.']—*Holmes's Annals.*

† 'This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Massasoit lived, but was afterwards (in 1675) broken by Philip, his successor.'—*Belknap's Biography.*

him. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton went venturously, and were welcomed, and presented with three or four ground-nuts and some tobacco. Massasoit, being at war with a potent adversary, the Narragansets, manifested every disposition to be at peace and friendship with the English, whose fire-arms were a great terror to his enemies.

At a meeting in April on common business, Mr. Carver was confirmed in the office of governor for one year.

The Mayflower was detained a considerable time, in consequence of sickness and deaths among the seamen, more than one half of their number having died during the winter, and Mr. Jones, the master, was unwilling to commence his return voyage until the survivors had recovered their health. He sailed on the 5th of April, and arrived in England on the 6th of May. Not one of the settlers expressed a desire to return to their native country, but all remained true to their pledge to their brethren whom they left in Leyden, and made every possible exertion to prepare comfortable accommodations for their reception.

The first offence committed and punished since the arrival of the colonists, was in the person of John Billington, who shipped on board at London, and was not of the company. He was charged with contempt of the captain's lawful commands, and of opprobrious speeches. He was tried by the whole company, and sentenced to have his neck and heels tied together; but, on humbling himself and craving pardon, and it being his first offence, he was released from his painful situation before the time had expired. In the spring of this year, the colonists planted 20 acres with Indian corn, being the first planted in New England, of which they had a good crop. They were instructed in the manner of planting by Squanto, but they were unsuccessful in their first trial with English grain, by reason, as supposed, of the lateness of the season, and bad quality of the seed.

In the month of April this year, governor Carver was taken sick in the field while engaged in planting, and died in a few days. His death was extremely afflictive, and was universally lamented. He was one of their wisest counsellors, and most indefatigable laborers. His remains was consigned to the earth, with all the affectionate solemnity which circumstances, at the time, would admit, and with the discharge of all their fire-arms. Many able pens have been employed in portraying his character. According to Dr. Belknap, 'he was a man of great prudence, integrity, and firmness of mind. He had a good estate in England, which he spent in the emigration to Holland and America. He was one of the foremost in action, and bore a large share of suffering in the service of the colony, who confided in him as their friend and father. Piety, humility, and benevolence were eminent traits in his character, and it is particularly remembered, that in the time of general sickness, which befel the colony, and with which he was affected, after he had himself recovered, he was assiduous in attending the sick and performing the most humiliating services for them, without any distinction of persons or characters.' His affectionate wife, overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, survived but six weeks after his death. He sustained the office of governor four months and twenty-four days only. His posterity have been very numerous. 'One of his grandsons lived to the age of one hundred and two years, and about the middle of the last century, (1775) that descendant, with his son, grandson, and great grandson, were all at the same time at work in the same field, whilst an infant of the fifth generation was within the house at Marshfield.'—*Belknap's Amer. Biog.* At the death of governor Carver the whole number of deaths was as follows :

December, 6 ; January, 8 ; Febuary, 17 ; March, 13. Of this number were 21 of the subscribers to the civil compact, and in April governor Carver was added

to that number. The whole number of survivors at this time was 55. Mr. William Bradford, while yet a convalescent from dangerous sickness, was chosen governor of Plymouth, as successor to governor Carver, and Mr. Isaac Allerton was chosen his assistant.

On the eighteenth of June, two culprits were arraigned before the company for trial. These were, Edward Dotey and Edward Leister, servants of Stephen Hopkins, who had fought a duel with sword and dagger, in which both were wounded. They were sentenced to have their head and feet tied together, and to remain in that situation for twenty-four hours, without food or drink. Even this slight punishment for an offence so criminal was remitted by the governor, after one hour's endurance, in consequence of their pleadings and promises, and the earnest desire of their master.

A Journey to Pokanoket; forty miles. This place was otherwise called Sowams. It was deemed advisable to send a friendly deputation to Massasoit, in order to ascertain the exact place of his residence, and his strength, and disposition, and to cultivate and perpetuate a league of peace and amity between the two parties, and to procure corn for seed. For this purpose, the governor made choice of Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins, to be accompanied by Squanto, as guide and interpreter, and taking a horseman's coat of red cotton laced with slight lace as a present to the chief. The deputies commenced their journey on the second or third day of July, and reached Namasket, a part of Middleborough, in the afternoon, fifteen miles. The native inhabitants received them with joy, and entertained them in their best manner, giving them a kind of bread, and the roes of shad boiled with musty acorns. The natives complained greatly of the damage they sustained in their corn by the ravages of the crows, and desired to see the experiment of shooting them with English guns; about fourscore of these birds

were soon brought down, to the great amusement of the natives. The gentlemen proceeded on their journey eight miles further, and, at sun-set, reached a fishing wear at Titicut, on Taunton river, where abundance of bass were caught. The natives received them in a friendly manner, and supplied them with fish, but destitute of houses, they took lodgings in the open field. An interchange of friendly civilities took place. The land on this river appeared rich and fertile, but the native inhabitants had a few years before been swept off by pestilence. Massasoit had his residence on this river. The next day they resumed their march, accompanied by six volunteer savages, and, having travelled six miles by the river side, they come to a fording place at low water. Here they were struck with the valor and courage of two savages on the opposite side of the river, two only remaining alive at that place, both aged—one above threescore. Seeing a company of men entering the river they ran to meet them at the bank, where, with shrill voices and manly courage, they charged with their bows, and demanded if they were enemies, and prepared to take advantage while in the water. But finding them friends they welcomed them with such food as they had, and the English bestowed on them a small bracelet of beads. The six savages proved useful companions to the ambassadors during their tedious march, affording them much assistance in crossing rivers, and offering to carry their clothes and guns to relieve them from fatigue and heat. The country through which they passed abounded in good timber, consisting of oak, walnut, fir, beech, and chestnut, of immense size; also fine springs of water, but without inhabitants. Having arrived at a village in Massasoit's territories, they were treated with a meal of fish and oysters, whence they proceeded to Pokanoket; but the chief was absent. One of the English attempted to charge his gun. The women and children fled, and could not be pacified, till he laid it

aside, and the interpreter assured them of their safety. But on the arrival of Massasoit, they saluted him by a full discharge of muskets, and he received them with every mark or favor and respect; and having clothed him with the laced red coat, and put the chain about his neck, he was delighted with the figure he made, and his people viewed their king with pride and wonder. In reply to their message, the chief assured them that it was his desire to continue in peace and friendship, and that he would direct his people to that effect, and would send seed-corn to Patuxet, as desired. He then addressed his own people as follows: 'Am not I Massasoit, commander of the country around you? Is not such a town mine, and the people of it? Will you not bring your skins to the English? After this manner he named at least thirty places, to every one of which they gave an answer of assent and applause. At the close of his speech, he lighted tobacco for the envoys, and proceeded to discourse about England and the English king, wondering that he would live without a wife. He talked also of the Frenchmen, bidding the English not to suffer them to come to Narraganset, for it was king James's country, and he was king James's man. Night approaching, and Massasoit having provided no food, as he had been absent from home, the gentlemen desired to retire to rest. The lodging place was on a platform of plank raised a foot from the ground; and their companions were Massasoit and wife and two other Indians, and they were more weary of their lodging than of their journey. The next day, many of the petty sachems and a large party of the people assembled to amuse themselves and the strangers with their games for skins and knives, and one of the English fired at a mark, and they were much surprised to see so many shot-holes. At noon, Massasoit brought home two fish, which he had caught, and this was the repast for forty people, and the only meal afforded to the messengers for two

nights and a day ; yet he importuned them to tarry longer. But starving for food, and anxious to keep the ensuing sabbath at home, and moreover despairing of sleep, for the filthy lodgings, the noise of the savages singing themselves to sleep, the annoyance of pestiferous insects within doors, and musquetoes without, left no chance for repose ; and should they protract their visit, they might not be able to return for want of strength. On Friday morning, therefore, before sunrising, they took leave and departed, leaving the chief both grieved and ashamed that he could entertain them no better. Squanto was retained to collect articles for traffic and Tockamahamon appointed to guide them to Plymouth, where they arrived after two day's journey.

John Billington, a boy, having been lost in the woods, and inquiry being made, Massasoit sent word that he was at Nauset (Chatham). He had wandered about five days, subsisting on berries. The governor sent ten men in a shallop, with Squanto and Tokamahamon, to recover him. In July, the party sailed toward Nauset, but were overtaken by a violent storm, attended with lightning and thunder ; they took shelter that night in the bay, near the harbor of Commaquid, (Barnstable harbor). The next morning, some savages, in pursuit of lobsters, informed them that the boy was well, but was at Nauset. They invited the English on shore to eat with them ; four savages entered the boat as hostages, while six went on shore from the boat. The English were introduced to their sachem, or governor, named Iyanough, a man not exceeding 25 years of age, of comely appearance and courteous, and he afforded them a plentiful entertainment. Here they were accosted by an old woman, supposed to be not less than a hundred years old, never having seen an Englishman ; she was weeping with great lamentation, complaining that she had three sons who went on board Captain Hunt's ship to trade with him, and he carried them captives into Spain, by which means she was deprived of the comfort of her children in her old age. The Eng-

lish told her they were sorry, that Hunt was a bad man, and all the English condemned him, and that no such injury should be offered by themselves; and, having given her a few trifles, she was somewhat pacified. After dinner, they proceeded, accompanied by the sachem, Iyanough, and two of his men, to Nauset, and Squanto was sent to Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, to inform him of their arrival. After sunset, Aspinet came with the boy, and a great train, consisting of not less than one hundred, one half of whom went to the shallop unarmed, carrying the boy in their arms through the water, while the rest remained at a distance, with their bows and arrows. The boy was now delivered, decorated to excess with beads; and having agreed to a peace, and presented the sachem and the man who brought the boy with knives, the parties separated. On their return, Iyanough landed at Cummaquid, and, to show his kindness, he took a runlet and led the seamen in the dark to some distance for water. In the mean time, most of his people, men, women, and children, assembled; the women joined hand in hand, singing and dancing, and the scene was closed by Iyanough taking a bracelet from his neck and hanging it on one of the English. It was reported by the Nausets, that the Narragansets had captured Massasoit, and killed some of his people, and, about the same time, Hobomak a Pinese, or chief captain under Massasoit, a lusty young man, attached himself to the English, and devoted his life to their interest and service. On the other hand, it was understood that Corbitant, another sachem, had given indications of his attachment to the Narragansets, a powerful tribe, and was endeavoring to disaffect the subjects of Massasoit towards the colonists, and manifested his enmity to all that favored their interest.* Squan-

* Corbitant resided at Mattapuyst, a neck of land in the township of Swansey. Mr. Winslow, who had frequent conferences with him at his wigwam and at other places, represents him as a hollow-hearted friend to the English, a notable politician, yet full

to and Hobomak, anxious to ascertain the situation of their chief, Massasoit, undertook a journey privately for that purpose. They were discovered by Corbitant the first night, and threatened with death. He seized Squanto, and held a knife at his breast, but Hobomak effected his escape to Plymouth, with news that Squanto was killed. The governor, sensible of the justice and importance of protecting the friendly natives, and of showing his own authority, after consulting the whole company, resolved to despatch a party of armed men, with orders to attack their enemies in the night, and in case that Squanto had been killed, to put Corbitant to death, and bring his head to Plymouth. On the 14th of August, Captain Standish, at the head of ten of the English, and accompanied by the friendly Hobomak, commenced the expedition, and reached Corbitant's cabin in the night; three Indians, attempting to escape, were badly wounded, but it appeared that Squanto had suffered no injury. The next morning, Standish breakfasted at Squanto's, and finding that Corbitant and his friends had escaped, and having accomplished the object of his expedition, commenced his return home.

The consequence of this display of authority on the part of the English was extremely favorable; the natives in that quarter were greatly intimidated, and numerous sachems, nearly all in the vicinity, solicited the friendship of the colonists. It appeared, on inquiry, that the report of the capture of Massasoit was a mistake, and Corbitant solicited his good offices to reconcile him to the English; and he, together with several other chiefs repaired to Plymouth, to acknowledge themselves the loyal subjects of King James, and subscribed the following paper:

'September 13th, 1621.

'Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, acknowledge ourselves to be the loyal subjects of King James, King of Great Brit-

of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him.'

ain, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names, or marks, as followeth.' Subscribed by nine sachems. The colonists had now secured the entire friendship and good services of the great sachem, Massasoit, and, partly by his influence, brought most of the petty sachems to terms of submission and peace. One event had previously occurred, which the natives had in remembrance, and which served to restrain their evil propensities. A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod, and most of the crew sacrificed. One Frenchman only was permitted to live among the natives. He told them that God was angry with them for this wickedness, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people. That they should not live like beasts, as they did, but should be clothed, &c. But they, in derision, replied, that they were so many that God could not kill them. He answered that though they were never so many, God had many ways to destroy them that they knew not. The pestilence which depopulated their country took place soon after the death of the Frenchman, and the arrival of the English soon followed. The prediction being fulfilled, produced a salutary influence on the natives.

A tribe called the Massachusetts, had manifested indications of hostility against the English. The governor and company, therefore, desirous to ascertain their strength, their particular situation, and circumstances, resolved to send a party to explore the bay on which they resided, and to propose to them terms of peace, trade, and friendship. Accordingly, on the eighteenth of September, the shallop was dispatched with ten Englishmen, Squanto for their interpreter, and two other Indians. They arrived in the harbor of Shawmut, (Boston,) the next day, and anchored under a clift, which Dr. Belknap supposes to be Copp's Hill, at the bottom of the bay, and twenty leagues from Plymouth.

Here they had an interview with the sachem, Obbatinnaa, one of the parties to the submission signed a few days before at Plymouth. He renewed his submission, receiving a promise of defence against his enemies, particularly against the Sachem of Massachusetts. They were treated by the natives with hospitality and respect, after their fears had subsided, and having collected a quantity of beaver, on the 20th in the evening, having the benefit of a light moon, set sail, and arrived at Plymouth before noon the next day. The shallop's crew made such a favorable report respecting the country which they had just visited, as to excite the envy of the colonists, who regretted that it had not fallen to their lot to be seated there. Although health was now restored to their dwellings, they were gathering in their harvest; provisions were plenty; water fowl and fish abounded; deer and wild turkeys were in the forest; they had opened a successful traffic with the natives, and their houses were in good condition for the approaching winter.

On the tenth of November, the Fortune, a vessel of fifty-five tons burthen, arrived at Cape Cod, bringing Mr. Robert Cushman, and thirty-five more passengers, whose names follow:

Robert Cushman
William Hilton
John Winslow
William Coner
John Adams
William Tench
John Cannon
William Wright
Robert Hickes
Thomas Prence (Prince, afterwards Governor,
Stephen Dean
Moses Simonson (Simmons)
Philip De La Noye (Delano)
Edward Bompasse (Bumpus and Bump)
Clement Brigges (Briggs)
James Steward (Stewart)
William Pitts
William Palmer, probably two in his family,
Jonathan Brewster
Bennet Morgan
Thomas Flavill, and his son
Hugh Stacie (Stacy)
William Beale

Thomas Cushman	Thomas Morton
Austin Nicolas (Nicholas)	William Bassite (Bassett,
Widow Foord, probably four in her family	two probably in his family.

It was unfortunate that this ship was so long on the voyage, that she had expended nearly all her provisions. She was soon laden with a cargo, valued at £500, consisting of furs, clapboards, and sasafras, and being provisioned by the planters, (though greatly to their damage) she was dispatched on her return voyage, on the 13th of December; but near the English coast she was captured and carried into France, but afterwards released.' Mr. Cushman returned in the ship, as the adventurers had directed, to give them information respecting the plantation.

Soon after the departure of the Fortune, the new comers were distributed amongst the several families, and, on taking an estimate of their provisions, it was found necessary to put the whole company on half allowance, to which they cheerfully, submitted. At this critical juncture, the Narragansets learning that the ship brought neither arms nor provisions, began to manifest hostile intentions. Their threats and preparations were well known to the English. At length they sent messengers to the plantation, with a bundle of arrows tied together with a snake's skin. This the English received as a war challenge, and governor Bradford informed the chief sachem, Cannonicus, that if they loved war they might begin it, as he was not unprepared. By an Indian, the governor, after consulting the settlers, sent back the snake's skin stuffed with gunpowder and bullets, with a verbal message of defiance. This produced the desired effect. The sachem was intimidated, dared not touch the snake's skin, nor let it remain in his house, but returned it to the English unopened. The settlers now judged it prudent to enclose their houses by a strong impalement,

which was completed in February. They also, for further security, enclosed part of the hill, and formed bulwarks with gates to be locked at night, and watch and ward was kept during the day. The ground enclosed afforded a garden for each family. The whole company was divided into four squadrons, and each one had its particular posts assigned it, in case of alarm. One of the companies was directed to attend particularly to any fires that might happen, while others were to serve as guards with their muskets. In all these military arrangements for the security of the town, Captain Standish was their main dependence, and he proved himself well deserving their confidence.

1622. About the beginning of April, another expedition on a trading voyage to the Massachusetts was in preparation, when Hobomak intimated his fears that the Narragansets and the Massachusetts had formed a private league against the English for their destruction, and, by sending off a part of their force, the town would be exposed to great danger from the Narragansets, while those on the expedition would be destroyed by the Massachusetts. These apprehensions, however, did not prevent the expedition. Captain Standish, with ten principal men, and taking both Squanto and Hobomak, proceeded on the voyage. Having reached the mouth of the harbor near the Gurnet's nose, they were becalmed, and came to anchor. While there, an Indian of Squanto's family came running into town with his face covered with blood, calling to the people abroad to make haste home, saying he received the wound in his face for speaking for the English, and frequently looking back as if the assailants were fast behind him. He informed the Governor that there were many Narragansets, together with Massasoit and Corbitant and others, approaching to assault the town, in the absence of Captain Standish. Upon this information, the governor ordered three pieces of cannon to be fired. Standish and his crew,

taking the alarm, immediately returned, prepared for action. Hobomak was positive that it was all fiction, as it proved. He was a Pinese, he said, and such an enterprise would not be undertaken by Massasoit without consulting him. At the request of the Governor, he sent his wife to Massasoit's residence, pretending other business, to inform herself of the true state of things. She found all quiet, and that no mischief had been intended. She then informed Massasoit of what had occurred at Plymouth, who was much offended with Squanto for his conduct. After this affair, Standish prosecuted his voyage to the Massachusetts, made a good trade, and returned in safety. It was now seen by the English that Squanto was not to be relied on, that he was actuated by selfish views, endeavoring to make his countrymen believe that he had great influence with the English, as he understood their language; in consequence of which he deluded many, and gained some advantages to himself. He made the natives believe, that the English were their enemies, that they kept the plague buried in the ground, and could spread it through the country at pleasure, which created great terror among the Indians, and induced them to place much dependence on him, to secure for them the friendship of the English. Some barrels of gunpowder were buried under ground in the store house, and when taken out, Hobomak inquired of Squanto, what they were? He replied, that they contained the plague, which he had formerly mentioned. Hobomak inquired of an Englishman if this was true; he answered, no! but the God of the English possessed it, and could use it for the destruction of his enemies, and the enemies of the English. Such were the devices, and such the duplicity of Squanto, to increase his influence among his brethren; and it was perceived that he had succeeded but too well in obtaining for himself the respect due to Massasoit only. The planters spared no pains to counteract these pro-

ceedings, by assuring the natives that Squanto was a deceiver, and that they had no reason to fear the English, so long as they conducted peaceably towards them. Massasoit, at length, became so embittered against Squanto, that, on a visit at Plymouth, he demanded of governor Bradford, that he should be put to death; but this was refused, and after his return home, he sent messengers to repeat the demand, asserting his claim to Squanto as his subject, according to the terms of the existing treaty. The demand was repeated with such pressing importunity, that the governor admitted that he deserved death, and was about to deliver him up, though with great reluctance, as Squanto was the only one who understood both languages, by which the necessary intercourse could be kept up. Massasoit offered many beaver skins in exchange for Squanto, but the governor disdained to sell his life, but assured the messengers that Squanto had justly forfeited it by his falsehood and deceit. With the messengers, Massasoit sent his own knife for the avowed purpose of cutting off Squanto's head and hands, and the culprit readily yielded himself and submitted his life, without the least apparent reluctance to the will of the governor. At the moment when he was about to be delivered into the hands of the messengers, a shallop appeared in the offing; the governor having heard many rumors of the French, and, doubtful whether there were not combinations between them and the savages, refused to deliver Squanto up, until he should first have ascertained what boat was approaching. Thus Squanto escaped, for the messengers, vexed at the delay, immediately departed in great rage. The boat in question proved to be a shallop belonging to a fishing vessel, the property of Thomas Weston, a merchant in London, which, with about thirty others, was employed in the fishing business, on the eastern shore near Penobscot. This was in the month of May, when the whole colony was entirely

destitute of bread, and their other provisions were almost expended. It was out of season for sea fowl, and they were unprovided with seines and hooks for fishing. They had subsisted on clams and other shell fish, until they were greatly debilitated. The shallop, above mentioned, brought six or seven passengers from the fishing vessels from London to be added to the planters, but no supply of provisions. Governor Bradford dispatched Edward Winslow to purchase articles of provision of the fishermen, but none could be obtained, excepting from the generosity of one Captain, who supplied them gratuitously with bread, sufficient to give each person in the plantation a quarter of a pound daily until the harvest. 'This was the daily portion,' says Mr. Winslow, 'which was distributed: until now, we were never without some bread, the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others—and, indeed, had we not been in a place where divers sorts of shell fish are, that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished, unless God had raised some unknown or extraordinary means for our preservation.'

In addition to this calamity, the Indians threatened them, and boasted how easily they could effect their destruction, and Massasoit, even, manifested a coolness and indifference about his English friends. In the mean time, news arrived of a horrible massacre of the English in Virginia on the 27th of March, 1622. Three hundred and forty-seven of the English were slain by the Indians. 'The massacre was conducted with indiscriminate barbarity. No regard was shown to dignity, no gratitude for benefits.' Justly alarmed for their safety, they immediately began to build a strong and handsome fort, taking in the top of the hill, under which our town is seated with a flat roof and battlement, on which cannon were mounted, and a watch kept. The lower part was used as a place of public worship. Thus did these pious people offer their de-

vout aspirations to God with the sword in one hand and the Bible in the other. 'About the end of March,' says Mr. Winslow, 'our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before on a bare and short allowance. As to the insufficient stock of provisions, brought by the Fortune, he suggests as an apology for their friends in England, certain among ourselves were too prodigal in writing and reporting that we enjoyed a plenty.'

The colonists now, in June and July, consisted of about one hundred persons in tolerable health; they had, this season, planted sixty acres of corn, and their gardens afforded ample supplies of vegetables.

Thomas Weston, a merchant in London, was originally one of the merchant adventurers. He encouraged the emigration, and actively promoted the Plymouth settlement, till this year. Why he now withdrew his patronage, could not be known, but by a letter from him, addressed to governor Carver, 'we find,' says governor Bradford, 'he has quite deserted us, and is going to settle a plantation of his own. And having procured for himself a patent of a tract of land in Massachusetts Bay, he sent two ships, the Charity and the Swan, with fifty or sixty men, at his own charge, to settle a plantation. These adventurers arrived at Plymouth about June or July, many of them in a sickly condition; and most of them remained there the greater part of the summer, and received from the inhabitants every hospitality and kindness which the place could afford. But they were ungrateful enough to commit numerous thefts, and waste the provisions of the planters who furnished them. At length they located themselves on Weston's land, at a place called Wessagusset, in the Massachusetts Bay, (now Weymouth.) This was a rival settlement, and consisted of profligate miscreants altogether unfit for such an enterprise, and proved very troublesome neighbors.

In the month of August, another ship arrived from

England called the Discovery, commanded by Captain Jones, the former commander of the Mayflower; and also the Sparrow, belonging to Mr. Weston, which had been employed on a fishing voyage. Captain Jones brought a large supply of trinkets, suitable for traffic with the natives, but his enormous demand for the articles, and unwillingness to sell but in large quantities, showed his disposition to take an ungenerous advantage of the famishing planters, and compel them to purchase at exorbitant prices that they might traffic with the natives for corn.

Weston's undeserving company soon squandered away their provisions, and were reduced to a state of starvation; thieving among the natives was their next resort. They were continually exasperating the savages against both settlements, till at length they became contemptible in the eyes of the natives themselves. One of them was so greatly enfeebled for want of food, that, in attempting to dig clams, his feet got caught in the mud and before he could be extricated he perished. They would debase themselves by the most abject services for the natives, and they in return would rob them of their miserable food and their blankets while asleep. Pressing and clamorous complaints were made by the Indians to the governor, and some were stocked and some whipped, without amendment; at length, to appease the injured savages, it was thought necessary to hang one of those who had been convicted of stealing. 'A waggish report became current that the real offender was spared, and that a poor decrepid old man, that was unserviceable to the company, was hung in his stead. 'Upon this story,' says Mr. Hubbard in his MS. History of New England, 'the merry gentleman that wrote the poem called Hudibras did, in his poetical fancy, make so much sport.' 'The passage referred to is well known.'

> 'Our brethren of New England use
> Choice malefactors to excuse,

And hang the guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the churches have less need.'

Hudibras, part ii. canto 2.

'Mr Hubbard seriously contradicts the story, but with a qualification, that would not perhaps have deprived the poet of an allusion so convenient for his purpose, and so congenial to his feelings. As Mr. Hubbard had the account from the Plymouth people, the person hanged was really guilty of stealing, as were many of the rest; yet, it is possible, that justice might be executed, not on him that most deserved it, but on him that could best be spared, or who was not likely to live long, if he had been let alone.'—*New England Memorial.*

1623. Partly to benefit Weston's starving people, and partly to provide for his own families, governor Bradford agreed to accompany them in the Swan, their own ship, on an expedition to Cape Cod, to procure corn from the natives. He afterwards went a second time, in company with Captain Standish in another shallop, after the Captain had recovered from sickness. These voyages were attended with the greatest hazard, by reason of violent storms; but they returned in safety, and brought a good supply of corn, which they divided equally between the two plantations. At Nauset the shallop was stranded in a storm; part of the corn and beans, of which they had 26 or 28 hogsheads, was stacked and covered with mats and left in charge of the Indians. The governor procuring a guide, travelled home on foot, receiving all respect from the natives by the way, and weary with galled feet and disappointment. In this first voyage the governor took Squanto as an interpreter and pilot, but unfortunately he was seized with a mortal fever at Cape Cod, of which he soon died. This loss was severely felt, as his place could not be supplied.

Although on a former occasion his conduct was

somewhat exceptionable, yet, as interpreter and pilot, the English always found him faithful and ready to devote himself to their service. 'A short time previous to his death, he requested governor Bradford to pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven; and he bequeathed his little property to his English friends, as remembrances of his love.'

January. Captain Standish made frequent successful excursions during the winter, to traffic for corn and furs. While at Nauset, and his shallop in a creek, an Indian stole from him some beads, scissors, and other trifles. Standish complained to the sachem, and threatened him and his people with punishment, unless they were restored. The next day, the sachem with a number of his men appeared to make satisfaction. First, by way of salutation, he thrust out his tongue to its full length, and drew it across the Captain's wrist and hand to his fingers ends. Next, he attempted to bow the knee in imitation of the English, having been instructed by Squanto. All his men followed his example, but in so awkward a manner, that the English could scarce refrain from breaking out in open laughter. After this ceremony, he delivered the stolen goods, assuring the Captain that he had punished the thief. He then directed the women to make some bread for the company, and expressed his sorrow for the theft, and was glad to be reconciled.

February. Captain Standish, being on a visit to Mattachiest (Barnstable) to purchase corn, the people freely supplied him, pretending to regard him with great friendship and respect. Several strangers also appeared, wishing only to see him and his company, but Standish saw reason to suspect that they were planning to kill him. He, therefore, ordered, that part of his company should remain awake, and watch all night. It was not long before some beads were stolen. Standish, having but six men with him, ordered that all should leave the boat, and surround the house which contained the sa-

chem and his people. He now assured them that as he would not offer the least injury to one of them, so he would receive none from any person, and demanded the stolen articles. The sachem having directed the thief to go slyly and put them into the boat, desired the Captain to search for them there; he, suspecting their knavery, sent a man who found the articles laying in plain sight on the boat's cuddy. These people now supplied him with corn enough to load his shallop. These spirited measures produced an admirable effect upon these faithless people, and kept them in constant fear.

March. On a visit to Manomet,* Captain Standish was apprehensive that the natives were plotting his destruction. Being some distance from his boat, with only two or three men, and the same number at the boat, he entered the house of Canancum, the sachem; soon after which two of the Massachusetts Indians entered. The chief one, called Wattawamat, was a notable, insulting villain, who had formerly imbrued his hands in the blood of English and French, and had often boasted of his own valor, and derided the weakness of the English, especially because, as he said, they died crying, making sour faces, more like children than men. This fellow took a dagger from his neck, and presented to the sachem, accompanied by a long speech, which the Captain could not understand, but which was of the following purport. The Massachusetts had concluded to destroy Weston's company, but dare not attempt it, till they could gather strength enough to destroy the Plymouth people also, as they would never leave the death of their countrymen unre-

* Manomet is the name of a creek, or river, which runs through the town of Sandwich into the upper part of Buzzard's Bay, formerly called Manomet Bay. Between this and Scusset Creek, is the place, which, for more than a century, has been thought of, as proper to be cut through, to form a communication by a navigable canal from Barnstable Bay to Buzzard's Bay. It is only six miles across.

venged, and they could not be safe unless both plantations were overthrown. To this end, they formerly had solicited this sachem, and also Iyanough at Mattachiest, and many others, to assist them, and now, since there was so fair an opportunity by the Captain's presence, it was best they should make sure of him and his company. The savages endeavored to persuade Standish to send for the remainder of the boat's crew, but he refused. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Paomet (Truro) present, who had professed friendship for the English, especially for Standish. This savage was in confederacy with the rest, but was very artful in keeping up appearances, offering many presents, saying he was rich, and could afford to bestow such favors on his friends whom he loved. He also offered to carry some of his corn to the shallop, a kind of labor which he said he had never performed for any man in his life before. And that he might have a better opportunity to kill the Captain, he importuned him to lodge at his hut, but the weather was so excessively cold that he was unable to sleep, and kept about the fire. The Indian frequently inquired why he did not sleep as usual, and urged him to it, but he replied that he had no desire to rest. The next day, the Indian embarked with Standish, and urged him to accompany him to Paomet, promising to supply him with corn, which the Captain complied with, not in the least suspecting an evil design; but the boat was forced back by a contrary wind, and returned to Plymouth. Thus the savage in two attempts was providentially frustrated in his diabolical intentions.

March. Visit to Massasoit. Information being received that Massasoit was dangerously sick, and that a Dutch ship was stranded near his house, the governor sent Edward Winslow and John Hampden, with Hobomak, to visit him and minister to his comfort, as this act is not only commendable in itself, but is conformable to the prevailing custom among the natives in case

of sickness. Mr. Hampden was a gentleman from London, says Winslow, who was spending the winter at Plymouth, and was desirous of seeing the country. Dr. Belknap supposes this to be the same person who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of King Charles I.* [*Biog.* vol. ii. p. 229.] Winslow was acquainted with the Dutch language, and it was desirable to have a conference with them; he was, moreover, a warm friend of Massasoit; and he provided for the occasion some comfortable cordials, &c. The first night they lodged with their Indian friends at Namasket; the next day, about one o'clock, they came to a ferry in Corbitant's country, (Slade's ferry in Swansey,) where they met with many Indians, who informed them that Massasoit was dead, and was that day to be buried, and that the Dutch ship would be off before they could arrive. This was unwelcome news, and Hobomak wished to return immediately to Plymouth. But Winslow, conceiving that Corbitant would probably succeed Massasoit, and that the distance was only three miles to his dwelling-place, (Mattapoiset,) prevailed on Hampden and Hobomak to proceed, although the visit might be attended with

* 'When wandering about the woods of Pakanoket, or along the banks of Taunton river, or sleeping in Indian huts, little did Hampden dream of the fate which awaited him. Little did he think that it was reserved for him to commence the overthrow of the British monarchy, and to shed his blood in the first daring attempt for a free constitution in England.'—*Baylies*, vol. i. p. 110.

We are not aware that such a visit by Hampden is mentioned by any British writer. We have never met with 'the memorial of John Hampden, by Lord Nugent,' but, from the notice of this work in the Edinburgh Review, we infer there was no knowledge of the fact of such a visit. At this period, (1620) he had not risen to distinction, but he was the father of a family, and a member of Parliament, and a total silence as to such a voyage, especially in epistolary correspondence, is a little difficult to be accounted for. It is a known fact, however, that Hampden had a partiality for the puritans, and was a warm friend to the New England Colonies, and it is certain, also, that, at a subsequent period, he, with his relative, Oliver Cromwell, was actually on ship board, bound to New England, and was stopped by order of the royal government.

danger, as Corbitant was considered to be unfriendly. Hobomak immediately began to manifest his great grief, exclaiming often on the way, 'Neen womasu sagimus, neen womasu sagimus, &c. My loving sachem, my loving sachem, many have I known, but never any like thee.' And turning to Mr. Winslow, he said, 'Whilst I live I shall never see his like amongst the Indians; he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel, like other Indians. In anger and passion, he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason, not scorning the advice of mean men; governing his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving where he loved, and he feared that the English had not a faithful friend left among the Indians, &c.' In this strain of lamentation and sorrow he continued, till they arrived at Corbitant's house; but he being gone to visit Massasoit, the squaw sachem gave them a kind entertainment, and informed them that the death of Massasoit was not certain, but supposed to be true. Winslow hired an Indian to go with all expedition to Pokanoket and ascertain the fact, and to inform Corbitant that they were at his house. News was soon brought that the king was not dead, though there was no hope that they would find him living. On their arrival, they found the Dutch ship had sailed, and that Massasoit still breathed; his hut was filled and surrounded with people. The pawaws were in the diligent exercise of their incantations and charms for him, making a 'hellish noise,' terrifying both sick and well, and six or eight women were chafing his limbs. Massasoit was apparently expiring, his sight had wholly left him, but being told that his English friends had come to see him, he inquired who had come, and on being told Winslow, he desired to speak to him; on his approach he put forth his hand and said twice, though very feebly, *keen Winsnow?* Art thou Winslow? *Yes.* Then he doubled these words, *matre neen wonekanet naimen*

Winsnow.' 'O Winslow, I shall never see you again.' Winslow then desired Hobomak to tell him, that the governor was grieved to learn of his sickness, and being unable to come himself, he had sent him with some comfortable things for his relief, and gave him some conserve on the point of a knife. With much difficulty he got this through his teeth, and swallowed a little, which he had not done for the two last days. Winslow next endeavored to cleanse his mouth from filth, with which it was excessively loaded, and his tongue so much swollen as to impede his swallowing. He continued his kind attentions to his patient, repeating his applications, till, within an hour, all appearances were favorable and he soon obtained some sleep.

Mr. Winslow now proposed to send a messenger to Plymouth for a further supply of such articles as he required, with which the chief was delighted, and soon despatched a messenger. In the mean time, Winslow made him some broth of corn meal, boiled with sassafras root and strawberry leaves, which he relished. He requested Winslow the next day to take his piece and kill him some fowl, and make him some broth. The sachem derived great benefit from the kindness of Mr. Winslow, of which he and all his people were truly sensible, and expressed their sincere gratitude. He exclaimed, now I see the English are my friends, and love me, and whilst I live I never will forget this kindness they have shown me. He earnestly desired that Winslow would visit the sick people in the town, and wash their mouths also, and give to each of them some of the same good things which he had given to him. Winslow and Hampden, on taking their departure, received the blessings of the king and his people. When about to depart, Massasoit privately informed Hobomak, that there was an extensive combination of Indians for the destruction of Weston's colony; that the Massachusetts had drawn a great number of sachems into the confederacy; and that during his

sickness he had been earnestly solicited to join them, but he had refused, and forbid his people to be influenced by them. He advised that the Massachusetts should be immediately attacked and cut off, as the only way to avert the threatened danger. If the English regard their own safety, let them strike the first blow, for after the settlers at Wessagusset had been killed, it would be too late for the Plymouth people to withstand so many enemies. Corbitant earnestly desired that Winslow and Hampden would lodge one night with him at Mattapoiset, on their way to Plymouth. They complied with this request, and were much entertained with his merry humor and jocose conversation. He asked if he were sick and should send word to Plymouth, the governor would send him physic, and whether Mr. Winslow should visit him ; and being answered in the affirmative, he returned his thanks. He inquired of Winslow, how he dared to come, being but two men, so far into the country? Winslow replied, that his heart was so upright towards them that he had no fear in coming amongst them. But, said Corbitant, if your heart be so pure, and it produce such fruits, why when we come to Plymouth are the mouths of your pieces presented towards us ? This, said Winslow, is an honor which it is our custom to bestow on our best friends. But, shaking his head, he answered, that he liked not such salutations. He next inquired into the reason of asking grace and returning thanks before and after eating. Winslow answered that all the good things of his life came from God, and it is proper that we should crave his blessing and express our thankfulness on all such occasions ; to which he assented. The gentlemen left Corbitant's dwelling much gratified with their entertainment.

March 23*d*.—This being their annual court day, the governor laid before the whole company the evidence which he had obtained of the hostile combination of the several tribes of Indians against the settlement at Wes-

sagusset. It was resolved, that Captain Standish should take with him as many men as he should deem necessary to encounter all the Indians in Massachusetts bay —that he should disclose his designs to Weston's people, and secure Wattawamat, a bold and bloody warrior, and bring home his head.

Captain Standish would take but eight men for this service, besides Hobomak, lest he should excite suspicion. On his arrival, his designs were suspected. An Indian said he saw by his eyes that he was angry in his heart, and, therefore, believed that their plot was discovered. Pecksuot, a bold-spirited Indian, and a Pinese, that is, counsellor and warrior, said to Hobomak, that he understood that the Captain had come to kill him and the rest of the tribe. Tell him, said he, we know it, but fear him not; let him begin when he dare, he will not take us unawares. Many of them would often whet and sharpen their knives, and use insulting speeches and gestures before his face. They were in the habit of wearing knives suspended at the breast, in sheaths tied about the neck. Wattawamat bragged of the excellency of his knife, having on the handle a woman's face; but he said he had another at home, with which he had killed both French and English, having a man's face on it, and these two must marry and by and by it shall see and it shall eat, but not speak. Pecksuot, being a large man, said, that though Standish were a great Captain, he was but a little man, but himself, though no sachem, yet was a man of great strength and courage. Standish, though high-spirited and irritable, submitted patiently to these abusive provocations, till a favorable opportunity should occur. The next day the valiant Captain found means to get Pecksuot, Wattawamat, and a third Indian, with Wattawamat's brother, eighteen years old, an insulting villain, into a room, and having about an equal number of his own men he made the door fast and gave the signal, beginning himself with Pecksuot; he snatched

his own knife from his neck, a struggle for life ensued, the knife was two edged and the savage had sharpened it to a needle's point. This was instantly plunged into his bosom, and repeated strokes were given, the victim resisting to the last breath. Wattawamat and the other Indians were also slain at the same time, and the young man was taken, and afterwards hanged. The struggle was awful, but without noise. Hobomak was a calm spectator of the appalling scene; after it was closed, he said to the Captain, yesterday Pecksuot, bragging of his own strength and stature, said, though you were a great Captain yet you were but a little man; but to day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. Two more Indians were slain by Weston's men. Proceeding to another place, Standish killed an Indian; and afterwards he met a file of savages, which he encountered, and, after a skirmish, they fled into a swamp: he challenged the sachem to a single combat, but he refused.

Weston's people, now seeing their danger, resolved to quit their plantation, and requested the assistance of Captain Standish in conveying them to the fishing vessels at Munhiggin, hoping to find a passage to England. The Captain told them that he should not feel himself in danger to reside there with fewer men than their number, but, at their desire, he would furnish them with corn sufficient for their subsistence, till they could arrive at the fishing vessels, although it would almost exhaust their store, and stint them for seed corn. Seeing them under sail in their own vessel, and clear of Massachusetts Bay, he returned to Plymouth in his own shallop, bringing with him a few men that preferred a residence in Plymouth. Thus, within one year, was the settlement at Wessagusset broken up, and the worthless rabble dispersed.

Captain Standish, on his return, brought with him the head of Wattawamat, as directed, and it was placed on the fort as a terror to the Indians. There was at

this time an Indian chained to the floor in the fort, having been detected in the conspiracy; he recognised the head, and was exceedingly terrified: he acknowledged the existence of the plot, but not his own guilt. He entreated earnestly for his life, which was granted, and he returned with a message of caution to his brethren. 'The Indians generally who had been prepared to join the Massachusetts, were terrified by these acts of severe execution. They forsook their dwellings, wandered about bewildered, living in swamps and deserts, and contracted diseases, of which many died. Canancum, sachem of Manomet, Aspinet of Nauset, and the interesting Iyanough, were among the victims to these complicated miseries. When Rev. Mr. Robinson received the news of these transactions, he wrote to the church at Plymouth, 'to consider the disposition of their Captain, who was of a warm temper.' He hoped the Lord had sent him among them for good, if they used him right; but he doubted whether there was not wanting that tenderness of the life of man, made after God's image, which was meet; he thought, 'it would have been happy if they had converted some, before they had killed any.' These sentiments are honorable to Mr. Robinson. They indicate a generous philanthropy, which must always gain our affection, and should ever be cherished. Still the transactions, to which the strictures relate, are defensible. As to Standish, Dr. Belknap places his defence on the rules of duty imposed by his character, as the military servant of the colony. The government, it is presumed, will be considered as acting under severe necessity, and will require no apology, if the reality of the conspiracy be admitted, of which there can be little doubt. It is certain, that they were fully persuaded of its existence, and, with the terrible example of the Virginia massacre in fresh remembrance, they had solemn duties to discharge. The existence of the whole settlement was at hazard.' —*Judge Davis's edit. New England Memorial*, p. 91.

First Patent. The first patent of Plymouth had been taken out in the name of John Pierce, in trust for the company of adventurers; but when he saw the promising state of their settlement, and the favor which their success had obtained for them with the council for New England, he, without their knowledge, but in their name, procured another patent of larger extent, intending to keep it for his own benefit, and hold the adventurers as his tenants, to sue and be sued at his courts. In pursuance of this design, he, in the autumn of the last and beginning of this year, made repeated attempts to send a ship to New England, but it was forced back by storms. In the last attempt, the mariners, about the middle of February, were obliged in a terrible storm to cut away their main-mast, and return to Portsmouth. Pierce was then on board with 109 souls. After these successive losses, he was prevailed on by the company of adventurers to assign to them for £500 the patent, which had cost him but £50. The goods, with the charge of passengers in the ship, cost the company £640. Another ship was hired to transport the passengers and goods; and it arrived at Plymouth in July. Soon after arrived a new vessel of 44 tons, which the company had built, to remain in the country; both brought supplies for the plantation and about sixty passengers.'

'Francis West arrived at Plymouth in June, with a commission to be admiral of New England, with power to restrain such ships as came either to fish or trade on the coast without license from the New England council; but finding the fishermen too stubborn and strong for him, he sailed for Virginia. The owners of the fishing vessels complaining to the Parliament of this attempted restraint, procured an order that fishing should be free.'

The Colonists were essentially benefited by a vast abundance of bass, caught in the creeks; on some occasions, 1500 were taken at one tide, when these fail-

ed they resorted to the never-failing clam banks. It was their misfortune, in the early part of this summer, to be reduced to the severest sufferings by a scantiness of provisions, threatening a famine. A vessel with supplies, which they expected in the spring, was obliged twice to put back by stress of weather, and did not arrive till August. In May, they planted an unusual quantity of Indian corn, but it was so ordered, that a drought of six weeks continuance cut off all their favorable prospects. Until the middle of July, the earth was as ashes, the produce scorched as before a fire, and the hopes of man were overthrown. In this extremity, as in all adverse circumstances, these pious sufferers invoked the God of heaven for relief. A day of humiliation and prayer was appointed; the morning was fair and the sky cloudless; their fervent religious worship was continued eight or nine hours without ceasing. At night the clouds were seen to gather, and the sky was overcast; the next morning they were cheered with moderate refreshing showers, and the rains continued to descend at intervals for fourteen days. The natives were struck with amazement. Hobomak, during the continuance of the drought, expressed his grief and concern lest the English should lose all their corn, and starve. The Indians, said he, can live on fish. But after the rain he rejoiced and said, 'Now I see Englishman's God is a good God, for he hears you and sends rain, and without storms and tempests which break down our corn; surely he is a good God.' At a convenient season they also solemnized a day of public thanksgiving for rain, and for a supply of provisions from England. 'By the time our corn is planted,' said Bradford, 'our victuals are spent, not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together; yet bear our wants with cheerfulness, and rest on Providence.' The devout elder Brewster lived for many months together without

bread, and chiefly on fish and clams, yet, with this scanty fare, he, with his family, would give thanks that they could 'suck of the abundance of the seas and of the treasures hid in the sand.' In winter, much use was made of groundnuts instead of bread, and wild fowls were constantly to be obtained in the marshes and creeks, and not unfrequently a deer was brought from the forest, which was divided among the whole company. It has been stated that they were at one time reduced to a single pint of corn, which being equally divided gave to each person five kernels, which were parched and eaten. The first establishment of the planters embraced such circumstances, as to maintain a community of interest, as respects the cultivation of the land, and the product was necessarily thrown into the common stock. By the articles of agreement with the merchant adventurers in England the personal services of the planters, and of their wives and children, were estimated at a stipulated rate, and to make common stock with property advanced, either by them or their adventurers. But this year it was judged adviseable to change the system and create an individual interest, by allowing every family the product of its labor to its own particular use. Each family to have a certain parcel of land in proportion to its numbers, on the condition only of a certain portion of the corn set apart at the harvest for those who were engaged in public business and for the fishermen. This arrangement operated as a stimulus to individual industry, and a larger quantity of corn was planted this year than before.

In July and August, two ships, the Ann and the little James, arrived with supplies, and 60 passengers, among whom were Timothy Hatherly, George Morton, and John Jenney, with the wives and children of some who had arrived before. By these ships letters were received from their agent, Mr. Cushman, and from the adventurers. Mr. Cushman writes, 'Some

few of your old friends are come; they come dropping to you, and by degrees; I hope ere long you shall enjoy them all.' The adventurers write, 'Let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others, who come after with less difficulty; the honor shall be yours to the world's end. We bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more, which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray for your safety as their own.'

These new comers were extremely affected with the miserable condition of those who had been almost three years in the country. An interview with old friends under such suffering circumstances was truly appalling. 'The best dish we could present them with,' says governor Bradford, 'is a lobster or piece of fish, without bread, or any thing else but a cup of fair spring water; and the long continuance of this diet with our labors abroad, has somewhat abated the freshness of our complexions; but God gives us health.'

First Jury.—It appears from the following ordinance that this little band of exiles duly appreciated the privilege of trial by jury.

'It is ordained, this 17th day of December, A. D. 1623, by this court, then held, that all criminal facts, and also all matters of trespass and debts between man and man, shall be tried by the verdict of twelve honest men, to be impanneled by authority in form of a jury upon their oaths.'—*Colony Records.*

Under August 14th of this year, Mr. Prince places the fourth marriage in the settlement, governor Bradford to Mrs. Alice Southworth. This is taken, it is said, from the governor's register. A more particular account will be given under the year 1657.

On the 10th of September, the Ann sailed for London, on company account, laden with clapboards, and all the beaver and other furs which they had collected at Plymouth. Mr. Edward Winslow went passenger

in the Ann 'to inform how things are,' says governor Bradford, 'and procure what we want.'

1624.—The colonists had hitherto appointed but one assistant to the governor; but the present year, by the request of Mr. Bradford, four others were added, and to the governor was given a double vote. Governor Bradford on this occasion strongly recommended a rotation in the office, alleging that if it were any honor or benefit, others beside himself should partake of it; if it were a burden, others should help to bear it. But he was notwithstanding re-elected, and repeatedly afterwards.

On the request of the people to the governor that they might have some land for permanent use, instead of the accustomed assignment by annual lot, he gave every person an acre for himself and his family, as near as it was convenient to the town.*

Edward Winslow, having been sent to England, the last year, as an agent for the colony, on his return home brought three heifers and a bull, which were the first neat cattle brought to Plymouth. The settlers were destitute of milk the first four years. Mr. Winslow was absent but six months, and brought with him provisions and clothing.

When we consider the sequestered situation of our puritan farthers, and their privations and sufferings, it is scarcely credible that a spirit of enmity should subsist against them on the other side of the Atlantic. But such was the fact; a division among the adventurers took place, a party of them were dissatisfied with the affairs of the colonists; groundless calumnies were urged against them; and it was determined, if possible, to prevent Rev. Mr. Robinson and the remainder of his church from coming over, alleging that their narrow

* The particular location of these lots to each individual family respectively, may be found in Judge Davis's edition of the Memorial, and also in Hon. Mr. Baylies's Historical Memoir, vol. i. page 257.

scheme of religious polity was unfriendly to a trading establishment. With Mr. Winslow, one John Lyford, a preacher, but a man of loose morals, was sent over by some of the adventurers. This man, on his first arrival, saluted the planters apparently with great reverence and humility, bowing and cringing in a very unbecoming manner, and even wept when blessing 'God that had brought him to see their faces.' The governor treated him with all respect, and admitted him into his councils with Elder Brewster, and others. He soon desired to be received into fellowship with their church, making a confession of his faith, and a humble acknowledgment of his former sinful courses, and blessed God for the opportunity of disburdening his conscience, &c. It was not long before he was observed in close intimacy with one John Oldham, a man of turbulent and restless spirit, and the mischievous effects of this association soon became manifest. They diffused a factious spirit among the more vicious part of the populace who could be brought in opposition to the colonists, and in aid of their enemies in England. Lyford was observed to be much engaged in writing letters to go by the return ship to England, and was not very careful to conceal a knowledge of their contents from those whom they most concerned. It was even boasted openly, among the confidants of Lyford and Oldham, that their letters would effect a change of affairs at Plymouth. The governor, apprehensive that these letters would be productive of evil consequences, should they reach their destination in England, thought himself bound to intercept them. He went on board the vessel in the harbor, and, on representing to Capt. William Pierce, the commander, his suspicions, it was agreed that the letters should be unsealed, as the welfare of the colony was doubtless deeply involved in the issue. A scene of perfidy was now disclosed, making it evident that they were scheming a total subversion of the civil authority, and of the church government. That the af-

fairs of the colony might devolve on themselves. Their letters were filled with base invective, and false accusations against both church and state in the new colony. The governor deemed it proper to take copies of these letters; but of some of the most palpably obnoxious, he retained the originals, and replaced them with copies. The breaking the seals of private letters may always be justified, when for the purpose of detecting a treasonable correspondence, which may effect the ruin of a community. Amongst the Lyford letters was one to John Pemberton, a minister well known to be inimical to the colony, and in this letter were enclosed copies of a letter from a gentleman in England to Mr. Brewster, and of another from Mr. Winslow to Rev. Mr. Robinson. These two copies were taken from the original sealed letters by Lyford, when on board the ship while laying at Gravesend, bound to America.

Governor Bradford remained silent respecting the information which he had obtained, but kept a strict watch over the conduct of the culprits, that their adherents and their designs might be more clearly discovered. Oldham soon became obstreperous, refusing to comply with his military duty when called on to watch, according to rule. He even insulted the captain and attacked him with a knife, and ranted furiously against all who attempted to quiet him. He was imprisoned, and a slight punishment being inflicted, he made confession and was released. Soon after this, Lyford, with his accomplices, proceeded to extremity, in defiance of the ruling authority, and without consulting the governor, church, or elder, set up a public meeting apart on the Lord's day, and attempted to administer the sacrament. In this crisis of affairs, the governor summoned a court of the whole company, and preferred his charges against Lyford and Oldham. With audacious face they denied the charges, and required proof. On this extraordinary occasion, governor Bradford expatiated on the principal objects and

views of their emigration here, the toils and sufferings to which they had been subjected, that they might enjoy the ordinances of God in freedom and quietness. In adverting to the case of Lyford, he reminded him that he had not participated in those sufferings, nor in the expense, but was sent over, and, with his large family, received kindly and supported at much expense; and now to plot against them and seek their ruin, was most unjust and perfidious. Lyford still denied the charge, and pretended not to understand the language addressed to him. The governor could no longer withhold the overwhelming truth. The letters from his own hand were now produced, and where is the man with sufficient effrontery not to be utterly confounded? Oldham began to be furious, and to rage bitterly that their letters had been intercepted. He endeavored to excite a mutiny among the people, exhorting them to show their courage, that now was the time to side with him in open rebellion, and he would stand by them. But he gained not a man; all were confounded and even the seditiously disposed were quelled through fear. The governor now proceeded to reprove Lyford for his base hypocrisy and treachery; in abusing his friends, in breaking the seals of private letters and taking copies; and at this time he caused Lyford's letters to be read to the whole company. He was next reminded of his confession when admitted to church-fellowship, and his saying at that time that he did not hold himself a minister till he could have a new calling for that purpose, and yet, now he had drawn a party aside, and, without acquainting the governor or the church, he was about to administer the sacrament, by virtue of his former calling. He only replied, that many persons had complained to him of abuses, but the persons he named denied his assertions. At length the miscreant, with eyes streaming with tears, confessed 'that he feared he was a reprobate, and that his sins were so great that God would not pardon them;

he was "unsavory salt," and that he had so wronged them that he could never make them amends;' confessing 'all he had written against them was false and naught, both for motive and manner.'

Both of these men were convicted, and the court sentenced them to be expelled the plantation. Oldham to depart immediately, though his wife and family had liberty to tarry all winter, or till he could remove them comfortably. Lyford had liberty to tarry six months, and the governor intended to remit his punishment, if his repentance proved sincere. He acknowledged that his sentence was just, far less than he deserved, and afterwards confessed his sin before the church with tears in abundance. He acknowledged that he had slanderously abused the people, expecting that a majority would side with him, and that he should gain his point, and he now blessed God that his designs were frustrated. He confessed himself to be actuated by pride, vain glory and self-love; that his eyes and his ears were shut against all good; and that if God should make him a vagabond on the earth, as was Cain, it were but just. Such was the apparent sincerity of these professions of sorrow and repentance, that many 'tender-hearted persons' had pity and compassion on him, and he was again permitted to teach, and some were willing to fall on their knees to have his sentence remitted.

Can it be credited, that in less than three months after his conviction, and before the term of his probation had expired, notwithstanding all his tearful confessions before God and the church, he should be found guilty of a new offence? He actually wrote another slanderous letter to his abettors in England, but the person to whom it was entrusted delivered it to the governor. John Oldham departed from Plymouth to Nantasket, and Lyford accepted of an invitation to be the minister of Cape Ann. At the annual election in March, 1625, Oldham returned to Plymouth, in violation of his sentence the last year, which prohibited his return without

the consent of the Governor. He conducted again in such a factious and abusive manner, that his own associates were ashamed to be seen in his company, and it became necessary to confine him, till some punishment could be prepared for him. He was made to run the gauntlet through a double file of armed men, and each man was ordered to give him a blow as he passed, with the butt end of his musket, saying at the same time, '*go and mend your manners;*' he was then conducted to his boat, which lay at the water's side for his departure.

Oldham afterwards applied himself to trade at Nantasket, with commendable industry and good success. He undertook a voyage to Virginia, and while in imminent danger of shipwreck, his mind was deeply impressed with a sense of his evil course of life, and he made many confessions and promises of amendment, if God should spare his life, and these vows he verified by a more correct course, insomuch, that the people of Plymouth permitted him to come into the place, whenever it might be convenient. Some time after, while on a trading voyage at Block Island, having some contention with the Indians, he fell a sacrifice to their barbarity. As to Lyford, Mr. Winslow, while in England, made such disclosures of his conduct while in Ireland, as could not fail to confound his best friends and adherents; and among the adventurers he was finally condemned, as unfit for the ministry. After suffering many disappointments and troubles, he went to Nantasket, then to Salem, and afterwards to Virginia, where he sickened and died. The affair of Lyford and Oldham is narrated by Secretary Morton, in language of great severity if not prejudice, and some suggestions of caution in its perusal are found in other authors.

Captain Smith's statistical account of Plymouth, at this period is thus condensed in Prince's Chronology. 'At New Plymouth, there are now about 180 persons,

some cattle and goats, but many swine and poultry. Thirty-two dwelling-houses; the town is impaled about a mile in compass.'*

On a high mount in the town they have a fort well built of wood, lime and stone, and a fair watch-house; the place it seems is healthful, for in the three last years, notwithstanding their great want of most necessaries, hath not one died of the first planters; and this year they have freighted a ship of 180 tons. The general stock already employed by the adventurers to Plymouth, is about seven hundred pounds.'

In the same ship which brought Mr. Lyford to Plymouth, came a carpenter and a salt maker, both sent by the adventurers. 'The carpenter,' says governor Bradford, 'is an honest and very industrious man, quickly builds us two very good and strong shallops, with a great and strong lighter, and had hewn timber for two ketches; but this was spoilt; for in the heat of the season of the year, he falls into a fever and dies, to our grief, loss and sorrow.' The salt man he describes as ignorant, foolish, and self-willed, and produced nothing. On the 5th of August, Mr. Thomas Prince, who was afterwards governor, was married to Miss Patience Brewster, being the ninth marriage which had been solemnized in the colony.

Great dissensions having prevailed among the merchant adventurers in London, and being under considerable pecuniary embarrassments, the company this year, 1625, dissolved, and the major part of its members relinquished all interest in the affairs of the company, and left the colonists to provide for themselves. The colonists were, this year, so successful in their

* This statement cannot be correct; an impalement consists of large logs or posts set into the ground, so near together that nothing can enter between them, and generally they are about ten feet high. An impalement of a mile would be out of proportion to the number of people, and the labor would exceed their abilities, with their other cares and avocations.

crops of Indian corn, that they were overstocked, and, wishing to convert part of it to some profit in trade, and having no other vessels than two shallops, they laid a deck on one of them, and sent her, laden with corn, to Kennebeck. Although the shallop was provided with a deck amid-ship to keep the corn dry, yet the men were exposed to the weather without shelter. Having no seamen for this service, Mr. Winslow and some of the 'old standards,' performed this voyage, in a tempestuous season, on the approach of winter. They disposed of the corn to advantage, and returned with seven hundred pounds of beaver, besides other furs, and at the same time opened a profitable trade for future occasions.

The merchant adventurers at London, having sent two ships on a trading voyage to New England, one of them returning, laden with cod-fish, and having on board also eight hundred pounds of beaver, with other furs, and the other also laden with dry fish, both sailed from Plymouth, the larger towing the smaller ship till they reached the English channel, when, being cast off, she was surprised by a Turkish man-of-war, by whom she was captured and carried into Sallee, where the master and his men were made slaves. In the larger ship, Capt. Miles Standish went over as agent in behalf of the plantation, in reference to some affairs depending between them and the adventurers. He providentially escaped the fate of those in the other vessel.

1626.—In April of this year, Capt. Miles Standish returned from England. He was the bearer of tidings which occasioned universal grief and sorrow. It was the death of the Rev. John Robinson, the beloved pastor of the Leyden and Plymouth church. Mr. Robinson died at Leyden, March 1st, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. A greater loss could not have been sustained in their circumstances. A particular detail of the character of this great and good man will

be found under the head of Ecclesiastical History, in this volume. His widow and children came over to Plymouth colony. His son, Isaac, lived to the age of ninety. 'A venerable man,' says Mr. Prince, 'whom I have often seen.' He left male posterity in the county of Barnstable. Another instance of death very afflictive to the colonists, was announced by captain Standish. It was Mr. Robert Cushman, one of their most valued friends. Mr. Cushman had resided in England since his return from Plymouth in 1621. He was a man of estimable character, and rendered essential service to the colonists. When at Plymouth in 1621, although a layman, he preached a sermon 'on the sin and danger of self love.' This was the first sermon ever preached in New England: according to tradition, the spot where it was delivered was the common house of the plantation, on the southerly side of Leyden street. It was printed in London in 1622, and afterwards reprinted in Boston, in 1724. Another edition was published at Plymouth in 1785, with an appendix, giving some account of the author. In 1822 this celebrated sermon was again published at Stockbridge, with the appendix.

In governor Bradford's letter-book, a fragment of which is preserved, is a letter from four of the adventurers written eighteenth December, 1624, said by Governor Bradford to be in Mr. Cushman's hand-writing. It gives much insight into their affairs, especially relative to their connexion with the adventurers, and evidences the good sense and excellent spirit of the writer. He wrote about the same time to governor Bradford. In the same letter-book, is a copy of governor Bradford's reply, dated June 9th, 1625, probably sent by Captain Standish. In his letters to governor Bradford, Mr. Cushman expresses a hope of coming to them in one of the next ships. His son Thomas, at that time a youth, whom he brought with him in the Fortune, in 1621, was then in the family of governor

Bradford. 'I must entreat you,' says he in his last letter, 'to have a care of my son as your own, and I shall rest bound unto you.' The request, we can have no doubt, was sacredly regarded. This son became a useful member of the society in which he was nurtured from childhood. He was chosen ruling elder of the church in 1649, after the death of Elder Brewster. He married Mary, a daughter of Mr. Allerton, and died 1691, aged eighty-four. A tombstone was erected to his memory in 1715, by the church and congregation at Plymouth. He left several children. One of them, *Isaac*, was the first minister of Plympton. His widow survived till 1699. She is the person mentioned by Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 408, as the only one of the first comers surviving in 1698. Descendants from this respectable stock are numerous, especially in Plympton, Duxbury and Middleborough.' Memorial. In the will of Elder Thomas Cushman, dated October 22d, 1690, he mentions his sons Thomas, Isaac, Elkanah, and Eleazer. Also his wife Mary, and his daughters Sarah Hook, and Lydia Harlow. His sons Thomas, Isaac, and Elkanah settled in Plympton and died there, and probably Eleazer also.

1627.–For greater convenience of trade, the Plymouth colonists this summer built a small pinnace at Manomet, a place twenty miles to the south of Plymouth, (Buzzard's Bay,) to which place they transported their goods. Having taken them up a creek within four or five miles, they carried them over land to the vessel, and thus avoided the dangerous navigation around Cape Cod, and made their voyage to the southward in far less time, and with much less hazard. For the safety of their vessel and goods, they also built a house, and kept some servants there, who planted corn, raised hogs, and were always ready to go out with the bark, and this became an establishment of some importance. In the time of the late war with Great Britain, the editor of the Memorial says he had an opportunity to witness at Sandwich a revival of this mode

of conveyance, to which the inhabitants of Cape Cod found it convenient to resort for the purpose of avoiding the risk of capture by the enemy's cruisers on the coast.

At this period the colonists received numerous letters from their affectionate friends and brethren at Leyden. They were sorrowing under the irreparable loss of their beloved pastor, and pining with little hope for a re-union with their christian brethren at Plymouth. They were poor and dejected, and the society was hastening to a dissolution. The event of a re-union was equally desirable on the part of their friends at Plymouth. Governor Bradford and his associates were determined to make every possible effort to effect the object; no pecuniary sacrifices were deemed too great. Mr. Allerton had been sent several times, as agent to London, to negociate a settlement of all pecuniary concerns with the company of adventurers, and to solicit assistance in behalf of the Leyden church. He returned in the spring of this year, after a successful execution of his commission, and was so fortunate as to purchase all the interest of the company of adventurers for the planters at Plymouth.

This year it was deemed expedient to distribute portions of land to each person, allotting to each twenty acres of arable land, five acres in breadth by the water side and four acres in length, in addition to the acre of homstead and garden plot, formerly allotted. There was also a division of the cattle and goats. In the edition of the Memorial, by Judge Davis, page 389, will be found a particular allotment of cows and goats to individual families, and by that list the state of several families may be determined. The division of cows and goats took place soon after the connexion of the Plymouth settlers with the company of merchant adventurers in England was dissolved. In 1624, Mr. James Shirley, merchant of London, and one of the adventurers, a warm friend to the pilgrims,

gave a heifer to the plantation to begin a stock for the poor. In 1638, the townsmen of New Plymouth met at the governor's, all the inhabitants from Jones' river to Eel river, respecting the disposition of the stock of cows given by Mr. Shirley. The amount of the stock was very considerable, and a respectable committee was appointed to dispose of the same. In one of his letters, this benevolent gentleman says, 'if you put off any bull calves, or when they grow to bigger stature, I pray let that money or money's worth purchase hose and shoes for the poor of Plymouth, or such necessaries as they may want; and this I pray make known to all.' 'All this gentleman's letters,' observes the editor of the Memorial, 'exhibit the most estimable dispositions. When Plymouth shall distinguish its streets and public places with the name of ancient worthies, that of Shirley should not be forgotten.'

In March of this year, messengers arrived at Plymouth from the governor of the Dutch plantation at Hudson's river, with letters dated at Manhattas, Fort Amsterdam, March 9th, 1627, and written in Dutch and French. In these letters, the Dutch congratulated the English on their prosperous and commendable enterprise, tendered their good will and friendly services, and offered to open and maintain with them a commercial intercourse. The governor and council of Plymouth sent an obliging answer to the Dutch, expressing a thankful sense of the kindness which they had received in their native country, and a grateful acceptance of the offered friendship. The letters were signed by Isaac De Razier, Secretary.

In September, of the same year, the Plymouth planters received a visit from De Razier. Having arrived at the Plymouth trading-house at Manomet, according to his request, governor Bradford sent a boat for him, and he arrived at Plymouth, in the Dutch style, with a noise of trumpeters. He was a chief merchant, and second to the governor.

The people of Plymouth entertained him and his company several days, and some of them accompanied him on his return to Manomet, and purchased of him some commodities, especially *wampum peack*, or *wampum*. The Plymouth settlers were unacquainted with wampum, as an article of commerce, but, from the information received from the Dutch, they were induced to purchase the article of the Indians, to the value of £50, for traffic; it was unsaleable the two first years; but afterwards became a very important article of trade, especially with the inland Indians, who did not make it. 'Wompompague,' says Mr. Gookin, 'is made, artificially, of a part of the *wilks* shell; the black is double the value of the white. It is made principally by the Narraganset and Long Island Indians. Upon the sandy flats and shores of those coasts, the wilk shells are found.' In Roger Williams key, wampum is considered as the Indian money, and is described in the twenty-fourth chapter of that interesting tract. 'One fathom of this, their stringed money, is worth five shillings. Their white money they call *wampum*, which signifies *white;* their black, *suckawhock*, suki signifying *black*.' The editor of the Memorial says he received from the late professor Peck, a reply to some inquiries on this subject. He was satisfied that wampum was made from the shell of the paquawhock, or quawhaug. A traveller in this country in the year 1760, describing his journey from Newark to New York, by the way of Staten Island, has the following remark: 'In my way, I had an opportunity of seeing the method of making wampum. It is made of the clam shell; a shell consisting within of two colors, purple and white, and in form not unlike a thick oyster shell. The process of manufacturing it is very simple. It is just clipped to a proper size, which is that of a small oblong parallelopiped, then dulled, and afterwards ground to a round smooth surface, and polished. The purple wampum is much more valuable

than the white; a very small part of the shell being of that color.'

1628.—The Plymouth company had, for some time, been endeavoring to obtain a patent of a tract of land on the Kennebec river, as a place of trade. This year their object was accomplished, and they erected a house high up the river, and furnished it with corn and other commodities, for a market. This year died Mr. Richard Warren, one of the passengers in the Mayflower, and a man of great usefulness during the sufferings and difficulties of the first settlement. 'Elizabeth Warren, the widow of Richard Warren, survived her husband about 45 years. She died in 1675, aged 90. Honorable mention is made of her in the Plymouth records. They had seven children, two sons and five daughters, all of whom married in Plymouth, excepting Abigail, the youngest daughter, who married Antony Snow, of Marshfield. Richard Warren stands at the head of the ninth share in the division of cattle in 1627. His location of lands was near Eel river, and the farm has remained in possession of his descendants till within about three years. The late Honorable James Warren, of Plymouth, was a descendant from Richard Warren.

This year commenced the troubles occasioned by the eccentric Thomas Morton, of famous 'Merry Mount' and 'May Pole' memory; but as this 'Lord of Misrule' was not an inhabitant of Plymouth, and as his affairs were transacted chiefly at Mount Wollaston, (Braintree,) the reader is referred to the New England Memorial for particulars.

In 1628, or 1629, some Plymouth people, putting into Nantasket, met with a Mr. Ralph Smith, in a very miserable condition, but finding him to be a sober-minded man, and having officiated as a minister, they, by his earnest desire, brought him to Plymouth, where he was settled as their first minister. *See Ecclesiastical History.*

1629.—This year, Dr. Fuller, one of the first comers over, a skilful physician as well as pious man, was called to visit some sick people at Salem, as a malignant disease prevailed there among a company of emigrants from England, under the care of Mr. John Endicott, afterwards governor.

Governor Bradford, and some others from the church of Plymouth, went to Salem, to assist in the ordination of Mr. Skelton, pastor, and Mr. Higginson, teacher, or ruling elder. Governor Bradford, and the other messengers from the church of Plymouth, gave them the right hand of fellowship.

In August of this year, thirty-five families of the church of Leyden arrived at Plymouth. They were received with great joy, and the expenses of their transportation were paid gratuitously by the undertakers, and they were subsisted out of the public stores for more than a year. Mr. Allerton, who made a third voyage to England in the autumn, of 1628, as agent for Plymouth, returned this year, in the month of August. He was greatly useful in assisting the families of the Leyden church in their removal to this place.

The Plymouth colony received this year a new charter, with the great seal of James I. dated January 13th, 1629. The grant is to William Bradford and his associates. It recites the rise and progress of the plantation, and that it had increased to 300 people. The charter also includes a tract of land thirty miles square on Kennebeck river. This charter, with the box in which it came, is now in the office of the register of deeds in this town.

1630.—Another portion of the Leyden people, about sixty in number, arrived on the 8th of May. Their transportation, amounting to £550, was paid by the undertakers. 'The generosity of the chiefs of the colony to their Leyden brethren,' says Mr. Baylies, 'is unparalleled. They almost deprived themselves

of the common necessaries of life to get them over, and to support them, until they were able to support themselves.'

Execution. John Billington, indicted for murder, was found guilty, and executed in October. This was the first execution in Plymouth colony. Governor Bradford says, 'He was one of the profanest amongst us. He was from London, and I know not by what friends shuffled into our company. We used all due means about his trial; he was found guilty, both by grand and petit jury; and we took the advice of Mr. Winthrop, and others, the ablest gentlemen in the Massachusetts Bay, who all concurred with us that he ought to die, and the land be purged from blood.' He was guilty of the first offence in the colony in 1621, when he suffered an ignominous punishment. Governor Bradford, writing to Mr. Cushman in 1625, says, 'Billington still rails against you, and threatens to arrest you, I know not wherefore; he is a knave, and so will live and die.' Billington waylaid and shot one John Newcomen, in revenge for some affront. It was Francis, who in 1621, discovered the lake that has the name of Billington Sea. In October of this year, the ship called the Handmaid arrived at Plymouth; having been twelve weeks at sea, and lost all her masts. About sixty passengers arrived, all well, but of twenty-eight cows shipped ten were lost.

1632.—*First Water Mill.* Stephen Dean was allowed to set up water works to beat out corn; afterwards he was allowed to erect a grinding mill, but to surrender up his beating mill. His mill was erected near Billington Sea, where he had a house.

A law was made in the colony this year, inflicting a penalty of twenty pounds on any person who should refuse to accept of the office of governor, unless he was chosen two years in succession, and whoever should refuse the office of counsellor or magistrate, was required to pay ten pounds.

'Whereas our ancient work of fortification, by continuance of time is decayed, and christian wisdom teacheth us to depend upon God in the use of all good means for our safety, it is agreed by court, that fortifications be made in March or April, and the governor and council measure the work, and appoint the whole their joint and separate part of labor, and, in case any shall fail to do their part, they to forfeit ten shillings a day for each default, and to pay his or their part of labor, as the overseers shall agree.'

In the autumn of 1632, governor Winthrop, of Massachusetts, Rev. Mr. Wilson, and some other gentlemen from Boston, visited Plymouth. In Winthrop's Journal the party is thus described: 'The governor, with Mr. Wilson, pastor of Boston, and two captains,' &c. The two captains, it may be presumed, were Endicott and Underhill. 'They went on board captain Pierce's ship, (October 28th,) which had just before arrived from England, and were put on shore at a place called Massagascus. The next morning, the governor and his company went on foot to Plymouth, and arrived within the evening. The governor of Plymouth, Bradford, with Mr. Brewster the elder, and some others, came forth and met them without the town and conducted them to the governor's house, where they were kindly entertained and feasted every day at several houses. On the lord's day was a sacrament, which they did partake in, and in the afternoon Mr. Roger Williams, (according to their custom,) propounded a question, to which their pastor, Mr. Smith, spake briefly. Rev. Mr. Williams prophesied, and after, the governor of Plymouth spake to the question; after him, the elder, then some two or three more of the congregation. Then the elder desired the governor of Massachusetts and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller, put the congregation in mind of the duty of contribution, upon which the governor and all the

rest went down to the deacon's seat and put into the bag, and then returned.

October 31*st*.—Wednesday, about five in the morning, the governor and his company came out of Plymouth; the governor of Plymouth, with the pastor and elder, &c. accompanying them near half a mile out of town in the dark. The lieutenant, Holmes, with two others, and the governor's man, came along with them to the great swamp, about ten miles. When they came to the great river, they were carried over by one Ludham, their guide, (as they had been when they came,) the stream being very strong and up to the hips; so the governor called that passage Ludham's Ford. Then they came to a place called Hue's Cross: the governor being displeased at the name, in respect that such things might hereafter give the papists occasion to say that their religion was first planted in these parts, changed the name, and called it Hue's Folly; so they came that evening to Massagascus, where they were bountifully entertained as before, with store of turkeys, geese, ducks, &c., and the next day to Boston.'

The great swamp mentioned in this narrative was in Pembroke; the great river is supposed to be what is now called *North River*. Ludham's Ford was probably in Hanover, about fourteen miles from Plymouth. Massagascus was probably written Wessagascus, and indicates the place which was commonly called Wessagassett. The term *prophesying*, in the sense intended by governor Winthrop in his account of the religious exercises at Plymouth, has become obsolete. It originated in the reign of Elizabeth, when the puritans maintained frequent religious exercises, in which texts of scripture were interpreted or discussed, one speaking to the subject after another, in an orderly method.

1633.—This year, Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, Mr. William Bradford, captain Miles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Done, Mr.

Stephen Hopkins, and Mr. William Gilson were chosen to be his assistants in government. Governor Bradford, having served in the office of governor about twelve years, now, by importunity, got off.

At a general court, held 28th October, it was by full consent agreed upon, that the chief government be held in the town of Plymouth, and that the governor live there, and keep his residence and dwelling, and there also to hold such courts as concern the people.

It is a current tradition, that the house, in which the general court held their sessions for many years, occupied the identical spot on which now stands the dwelling house of Mr. Thomas Jackson, in Main street, and that some of the original timber was incorporated into the present house. The walls of the chamber were high, in which sat the governor and assistants, and the lower room was occupied by the house of deputies.

All and every person in the colony to be subject to such military orders for training and exercise of arms, as agreed upon by the governor and assistants.

The town of Plymouth was this year visited with a mortal sickness, of which upwards of twenty men, women, and children died. Among others, was that most excellent and pious man, Dr. Samuel Fuller. He had attached himself to the puritan interest, while at Leyden, and came over as a member of Robinson's church, in the Mayflower. He twice visited Salem in the discharge of his professional duties, and, being experienced in the church affairs at Plymouth, communicated some useful information to governor Endicott, relative to the formation of a church at Salem, for which he received his grateful acknowledgments. He was an ardent friend to the church, of which he was deacon, and was distinguished for his moral and christian virtues. 'The spring before this sickness,' says Morton, (Memorial), 'there was a numerous company of flies, which were like for bigness unto wasps or humblebees; they came out of little holes in

the ground, and did eat up the green things, and made such a constant yelling noise as made the woods ring of them, and to deafen the hearers. They were not heard nor seen by the English in the country before this time, but the Indians told them that sickness would follow; and so it did. Very hot in the months of June, July, and August, of that summer.' The insect here described, is the locust, which has appeared in our woods at distant intervals since.

In the inventory of Dr. Fuller, three cows were appraised January 2d, 1633, at sixty pounds sterling.

1634.—This year Mr. Thomas Prince was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Bradford, first assistant, or deputy governor, and six other gentlemen were chosen assistants.

Indian Anecdote. Governor Winthrop mentions in his Journal, that 'Mr. Winslow, coming in his bark from Connecticut, left his bark at Narraganset, to return to Plymouth by land. Asamequin (Massasoit), his old ally, offered to be his guide, but before they took their journey, the Sagamore sent one of his men to Plymouth, to tell them that Mr. Winslow was dead, and directed him to show where he was killed; whereupon there was much fear and sorrow at Plymouth. The next day, when Asamequin brought him home, they asked him why he sent such word; he answered, that it was their manner to do so, that they might be more welcome when they came home.

1635.—William Bradford chosen governor, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, and five others assistants.

Mr. E. Winslow again visited England, as agent for the colony, and was joint agent for Massachusetts also. While before the council, on the affairs of the colonies, archbishop Laud, being greatly incensed against him, as against all the colonists, as separatists from the church of England, accused him of officiating in the celebration of marriages, and as religious teacher. Mr. Winslow acknowledged that he had occasionally taught

publicly in the church, and that he had officiated in the celebration of marriages as a magistrate, and that he himself had been married by a magistrate. The archbishop pronounced him guilty of separation from the national church, and 'by vehement importunity,' says governor Bradford, 'got the board at last to consent to his commitment. He was conveyed to the Fleet prison, and was there confined about seventeen weeks.'—*See Ecclesiastical History.*

On the 15th of August, Plymouth was visited by a tremendous storm or hurricane, which is thus described in Morton's Memorial. 'It began in the morning a little before day, and grew, not by degrees, but came with great violence from the beginning to the great amazement of many: it blew down sundry houses, and uncovered divers others; divers vessels were lost at sea in it, and many more were in extreme danger. It caused the sea to swell in some places to the southward of Plymouth, as it rose to twenty feet right up and down, and made many of the Indians to climb into the trees for safety. It threw down all the corn to the ground, which never rose more, and the which, through the mercy of God, it being near the harvest time, was not lost, though much the worse; and had the wind continued without shifting, in likelihood it would have drowned some part of the country. It blew down many hundred thousand of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the high pine trees, and such like, in the midst, and the tall young oaks and walnut trees of good bigness were wound as withes by it,—very strange and fearful to behold. It began in the southeast and veered sundry ways, but the greatest force of it at Plymouth was from the former quarter: it continued not in extremity above five or six hours, before the violence of it began to abate; the marks of it will remain this many years in those parts where it was sorest. The moon suffered a great eclipse two nights after it.' There is a close similarity between

the hurricane described by Mr. Morton, and that which we experienced in the same place in 1815.*

March 13*th.*—Thomas Boreman agreed with, to be paid in beaver, at ten shillings a-piece, or other commodities of valuable price, to be levied on the company, to do the fort in manner following: all the posts, ten inches square, and not to stand above ten feet asunder; to be done with three rails between every post, the post and rails to be sawed, he to enclose the whole with sawed boards; to be nine feet high, and to be cut sharp at the top.

It appears that previous to this date the general

* Although not strictly coincident with the history of Plymouth, the following interesting detail may not be deemed altogether foreign from the subject.

In the above-mentioned tempest, a bark, belonging to Mr. Allerton of Plymouth, was shipwrecked at Cape Ann, and twenty-one persons drowned; among others, Mr. John Avery, a minister, recently from Wiltshire in England, with his wife and six children. None were saved but Mr. Anthony Thatcher and his wife, who were cast on shore. The vessel was returning from Ipswich to Marblehead. Thomas Thatcher, nephew to Anthony, unwilling to encounter the voyage, travelled the journey by land, and thereby escaped the shipwreck. Mr. Thomas Thatcher, so providentially preserved, was the first pastor of the third church in Boston, and is believed, by the recent editor of Winthrop's Journal, to have been the progenitor of all who have rendered this name in church and state illustrious, in Massachusetts. Dr. C. Mather says, the storm drove the vessel on a rock, that it was quickly broken all to pieces; that almost the whole company were drowned, by being successively washed from the rock; that, while Mr. Avery and Mr. Thatcher were hanging on the rock, Mr. Thatcher holding his friend by the hand, 'resolved to die together.' Mr. Avery, having just finished a short and devout ejaculation, was by a wave swept off into the sea. The island has been called Thatcher's Island ever since; the next island, Thatcher's Wo. The rock, Avery's Fall. A cradle, and a cradle covering, of scarlet broadcloth, elegantly embroidered, saved from the wreck, is still preserved in the Thatcher family at Yarmouth, and was shown to me a few years since. Anthony Thatcher took up his residence at Yarmouth, from whom hath sprung a very numerous progeny, and from whom I trace my own ancestry. In 1643, and several subsequent years, Anthony Thatcher was a deputy from Yarmouth to the general court, at Plymouth. John Thatcher died at Yarmouth, May 8th, 1713, aged seventy-five. At the time of his death, he was a counsellor of Massachusetts.

court promulgated no penal laws, but the people were governed by the moral law of Moses and the New Testament, as paramount to all others. These laws indeed accord with that patriarchal simplicity of manners and morals which were the crowning characteristics of the puritan fathers. Among the penalties inflicted on individuals under the administration of governor Bradford, governor Winslow, and governor Prince, from 1632 to 1640, we find the following instances recorded. Frances Sprague, for drinking overmuch, fined ten shillings; Frances Billingham, and John Phillips, for drinking tobacco in the high way, twelve shillings, each—this was probably using tobacco by smoking. Stephen Hopkins, presented for selling beer at two pence per quart, which was worth but one penny. John Barnes, for sabbath breaking, was fined thirty shillings, and set one hour in the stocks. Edward Holman, less guilty, fined twenty shillings. Thomas Clark, for selling a pair of boots and spurs for fifteen shillings, which cost him but ten, fined thirty shillings. William Adey, for working on Sunday was severely whipt at the post.

1636.—Edward Winslow chosen governor this year.

Plymouth Declaration of Rights. The body of laws adopted by the colony of Plymouth, styled 'The General Fundamentals,' was now established. The first article is, 'That no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, be made or imposed upon us at present, or to come, but such as has been, or shall be, enacted by the consent of the body of freemen or associates, or their representatives legally assembled; which is according to the free liberties of the free born people of England.'

The second article is, 'And for the well governing this colony, it is also ordered, that there be a free election annually of governor, deputy governor, and assistants, by the vote of the freemen of this corporation.' The fundamentals are dated, 1636. The style of enactment is, 'We, the associates of the colony of New

Plymouth, coming hither as free born subjects of the kingdom of England, endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such, being assembled, do enact, ordain, and constitute, &c.

Plymouth Laws. 'For the better government of the Indians, and for their improvement in civility and christianity, the assembly of Plymouth colony made several laws for preaching the gospel to them; for admitting Indian preachers among them, &c. with the concurrence of the principal Indians; for making orders and constituting courts, for appointing civil rulers, and other officers, to punish misdemeanors, with the liberty of appeal to the county court and court of assistants.'—*Holmes' Annals.*

Capital offences punished with death. Rebellion against the king, murder, solemn compaction or conversing with the devil, by way of witchcraft, or the like.* In the formation of the laws, regard was had, 'primarily and principally, to the ancient platform of God's law.'

I have hitherto detailed the concerns of the colony and the town, hand in hand, without distinction. While the governor and assistants acquitted themselves of appropriate duties, they fulfilled those of magistrates and of selectmen. The court of assistants was composed of the governor and assistants, and the general court consisted of the governor and assistants, and the deputies from the several towns forming the lower house. Here it may be proper to introduce an abstract, relative to their mode of government, from the valuable history of the old colony, by Hon. Francis Baylies.

'The pilgrims,' says Mr. Baylies, 'had adopted no constitution or instrument of government, except

* 'Whatever imperfections may be justly ascribed to our fathers, (which, however, were as few as any mortals have discovered,) their judgment in forming their policy was founded on wise and benevolent principles. It was founded on revelation and reason too. It was consistent with the best, greatest, and wisest legislators of antiquity.'—*Pres. Adams.*

the simple compact which was signed in the cabin of the Mayflower, November, 1620, and which recognized no principle but that of allegiance to the king, and the controlling power of the majority of the people in the transactions of the colony. No laws were made for the general organization of the government; the limits of political rights and political powers not defined; the governor and assistants maintained their small portion of authority rather by common consent, than by a lawful delegation of power.**** Crimes and punishments were neither declared nor defined. The only magistrates were the governor and assistants. The office of justice of the peace was unknown. Trials were had in the general court before juries, selected from the whole body of the freemen of the colony; and, until 1634, the governor and assistants were not by law considered a judicial court. The magistrates had no jurisdiction of civil actions, and in criminal offences their jurisdiction was confined to the power of binding over the accused to appear at the general court. The duties, powers, and obligations of husband and wife, parent and child, guardian and ward, master and servant, &c. were controlled and influenced by usages which had been varied from the usages of England, &c. Marriage was deemed a civil contract, and was solemnized by the civil magistrate, and not by the pastor or elder. With respect to political objects, previous to the year 1636, the Plymouth colony may be considered to have been but a voluntary association, ruled by the majority, and not by fixed laws. It does not appear, except in a very few instances, that they availed themselves of their delegated powers under their patent to enact laws, until 1633. A few laws only, and such as were of the most urgent necessity, were then established.**** The power of the church in effect was superior to the civil power, but in terms was confined to the infliction of censure only.'

Literally abstracted from the civilized world, our

revered puritan fathers held the bible in estimation as the basis of all laws; the precepts of the gospel the rule of their lives and the fountain of their dearest hopes. It was the inwoven sentiment of their hearts, that the sovereign power resides with the people, and this was the fundamental axiom upon which their government was reared.

It was this year enacted, that, on the first Tuesday of June, a governor and seven assistants should be chosen, 'to rule and govern the plantation within the limits of this corporation,' and the election was confined to the freemen, church membership being an indispensable qualification for freemen.

An oath was to be administered to the governor, the assistants, the freemen, and to all who resided among them. A treasurer and constable were annually chosen, but no sheriff.

It was ordered, that every constable-wick should be provided with stocks and whipping-posts. These were appendages to every meeting house till within the last fifty years.

It was provided that no servant, coming out of his time, or single person, be suffered to keep house for themselves, until they were completely provided with arms and ammunition; and were not allowed to be housekeepers, or to build any cottage or dwelling, till such time as they be allowed by the governor and council of assistants, or some one or more of them.

1637.—Edward Winslow chosen governor this year. Great disturbance and perplexity was occasioned by one Samuel Gorton, lately from Boston. He endeavored to introduce heretical or obnoxious doctrines, and seduce the people to his opinions, and having provoked Mr. Ralph Smith, the minister, to a controversy, he was, on his complaint, summoned before the court for trial, and, conducting most insolently towards magistrates and ministers, he was fined and ordered to find security for good behavior, and to quit the place

in fourteen days. He next went to Rhode Island, where he so conducted that he was sentenced to suffer corporal punishment by whipping, and was banished.

1638.—Thomas Prince chosen governor this year. There was a great earthquake in New England this year, on the first day of June. The earth shook with such violence, that, in some places, the people could not stand without difficulty in the streets, and most moveable articles in their houses were thrown down. This phenomenon formed a memorable epoch in the annals of New England.

Execution. Four young men who were servants at Plymouth absconded from their masters, and, rambling abroad, they met with an Indian in the woods near Providence, but within the jurisdiction of Plymouth; they killed him to rob him of his wampum; one of the murderers escaped, the other three were tried, and, confessing their guilt, were condemned and executed.* It may be thought extravagant to hang three Englishmen for one Indian, but it serves to show the stern purpose of the puritans, that the most rigid justice should not be withheld from the defenceless natives.

It is ordered, that if any man make a motion of marriage to any man's daughter or maid, without first obtaining leave of her parents or master, he shall be punished by fine not exceeding five pounds, or corporal punishment, or both, at the discretion of the bench, according to the nature of the offence.

Any person denying the scriptures to be a rule of life, shall suffer corporal punishment at discretion of the magistrates, so as it shall not extend to life or limb.

The court granted that Clark's Island, the Eel River Beach, Saguish and the Gurnet's Nose, shall be

* The court which tried the above mentioned murderers consisted of governor William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince, Capt. Miles Standish, John Alden, John Jenney, John Brown, and John Atwood.

and remain unto the town of Plymouth, with the woods thereupon.

1639.—William Bradford chosen governor this year. 'The towns in Plymouth colony, for the first time, sent deputies for legislation. Their first general assembly was on the 4th of June. Hitherto, the governor and his assistants, under the general name of the associates of the colony of New Plymouth, were virtually the representatives of the people. All laws were enacted, and all government managed by them, for nearly twenty years. They had a few laws, which they termed general fundamental; but, in general, they were governed by the common law and statutes of England.'

The representatives from the town of Plymouth to the legislative assembly in general court this year, were William Paddy, Manasseh Kempton, Jr., John Cook, Jun. and John Dunham.

This year the general court of Massachusetts passed the following order for the regulation of the ladies' dress. 'No garment shall be made with short sleeves; and such as have garments with short sleeves, shall not wear the same, unless they cover the arm to the wrist; and hereafter, no person whatever shall make any garment for women, with sleeves more than half an ell wide, (twenty-two and a half inches).

The first prison was ordered to be erected at Plymouth; to be twenty-two feet long, sixteen feet wide within walls, and two stories high; to have three floors, and covered with boards, and well finished. This prison was probably completed in 1641, as it is mentioned by some writers that the first prison was erected in that year. According to the Old Colony records, it was seated near Little Brook, hence called Prison Brook, where Mr. N. Russell's house now stands. It was this year ordered, that the grand jury in each town should take notice of all *idle persons*, and inquire how they live; if they cannot give a good account of themselves, the constable to bring them before the governor or

magistrate. In 1640, by an additional law it was provided, that each complaint should be made on oath.

It was ordered, that *profane swearing* should be punished by setting in the stocks three hours, or by imprisonment. *Telling lies*, for every offence, fined ten shillings, or stocked for two hours.

This year the great Sachem, Massasoit, and Mooanam his son, came into the court held at Plymouth on the twenty-fifth day of September, and desired that the ancient league and confederacy, formerly made with the government of Plymouth, wherein he acknowledged himself subject to the king of England and his successors, may stand and remain inviolable.

The ancient confederacy was fully confirmed for perpetuity by Massasoit and his son, and also by the governor of Plymouth colony, on their part.

1640.—William Bradford was chosen governor, and John Jenney, John Howland, John Atwood, and William Paddy were the representatives to the legislature. J. B. was presented for buying rye at four shillings per bushel, and selling it for five shillings; also for selling thread for five shillings per pound.

1641.—Mr. John Jenney was allowed certain privileges at Clark's Island to make salt, which he was to sell to the inhabitants at two shillings the bushel. Herring wear let for three years to three persons, who are to deliver the shares of herrings, and to receive 1*s.* 6*d.* the thousand for their trouble. A barque, of forty or fifty tons, was built at Plymouth, January 24, 1641. The estimated expense was £200, and the whole was divided into shares of one eighth or one sixteenth, and were contributed by thirteen persons. This was doubtless the first vessel of size ever built at Plymouth.

1642.—William Bradford was elected governor, and John Doane and John Cooke deputies. Thirty acres of land were granted at Clark's Island, (the use of them) to the five partners that make salt for twenty-one years. A keeper was hired to take charge of the

cows from May 1st, to the last of October, for thirty-six bushels of corn and a pair of hose and shoes. A fortification was erected, and ordnance mounted on Fort Hill this year.

1643.—Edward Winslow was this year elected governor, Mr. Prince, Mr. Jenney, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Paddy, and Mr. N. Sowther were the deputies.

This is the memorable epoch of the *First union of the New England Colonies.* A confederacy had been in agitation several years. As early as 1637, the subject was discussed; and the following year, articles of union, for amity, offence, and defence, mutual advice and assistance upon all necessary occasions, were drawn, and referred to the next year for further consideration. Difficulties, however, occurred, which retarded the execution of the design until the present year. The colonies of Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth, despatched Commissioners to Boston in May, at the time of the session of the Massachusetts general court. This court appointed commissioners to meet those of the other colonies. A spirit of harmony and mutual condescension was auspicious to the great object, and on the 19th of May the articles were completed and signed at Boston. The reasons assigned for this union were, the dispersed state of the colonies, the vicinity of the Dutch, Swiss, and French, who were inclined to encroachments; the hostile disposition of the neighboring Indians; the appearance of a general combination of these savage tribes, to extirpate the English colonies; the commencement of civil contests in the parent country; the impossibility of obtaining aid from England in any emergency; and in fine the alliance already formed between the colonies by the sacred ties of religion. The commissioners declared, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects, they be and continue one; and henceforth be called by the name of the United Colonies of New England. Here we may discern the germ of our present national system.

The members of this league were deemed by all their neighbors as one body, with regard to their public transactions, though the peculiar affairs of each continued to be managed by its own courts and magistrates.

On the completion of the colonial confederacy, several Indian sachems came in and submitted to the English government, among whom were Miantonomoh, the Narraganset, and Uncus, the Mohegan chief. The union rendered the colonies formidable to the Dutch as well as Indians, and respectable in the view of the French; maintained general harmony among themselves, and secured the peace and rights of the country; preserved the colonies during the civil wars and unsettled state of England; was the grand instrument of their defence in Philip's war, and was essentially serviceable in civilizing and christianizing the Indians. The proportion of men assigned to the colonies by this alliance, was 100 to Massachusetts, and 45 to each of the other three colonies, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. This union subsisted with some alterations until the year 1686, when all the charters were in effect vacated by a commission from King James II. This confederacy was acknowledged and countenanced by the authority in England, from its beginning until the restoration, and in letters from King Charles II. notice is taken of it, without any exception to the establishment.'—*Holmes' Annals, where he notices numerous other authorities.*

A watch-house was this year built of brick, on Fort Hill. The bricks were furnished by Mr. Gromes at 11*s.* the thousand. This is the earliest notice of brick. In digging a grave on the summit of Fort Hill, a few years since, a large body of brick was discovered a few feet beneath the surface of the earth.

Householders were ordered to provide themselves with fire arms and ammunition, and drum-heads to be procured by subscription. In September, the whole township was classed in a watch, to be kept from sun-

set to sunset, in regard of danger from the Indians. Six men and a corporal assigned to a watch, when these persons were chosen the council of war.

Wolf traps were, by the colony court, ordered to be made; when the whole town was classed to make them at various places. The wolves made distressing depredations on their herds and folds many years. Governor's assistants were classed on this occasion.

1644.—John Atwood, who had been one of the assistants, and also a deputy to the general court, died this year. He was a man of much usefulness in the place, and in life and death exemplified the christian character. In the course of this year the inhabitants of the town, but chiefly the church members, had in contemplation a singular project, which well nigh effected a total abandonment of their first labors and footpaths on our shore. It appears by the church records, that a considerable part of their body viewed their present establishment as barren and unproductive. They became so dissatisfied with their unpromising location, that they were willing to relinquish all their interest in it for a more advantageous situation. Individuals were frequently removing, and the church began seriously to think, whether it were not better to remove jointly and bodily, than to be thus weakened and insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation resulted in indecision and contrariety of opinions. Some, who opposed the removal, would yet assent to it, rather than see a dissolution of the church, provided a more eligible situation could be agreed on, and a majority at length acquiesced. The place selected was no other than *Nauset*, now Eastham, on Cape Cod, and the purchase was made, merely from a superficial view. But, on a further examination, the new territory disappointed their expectations, and they changed their resolution. It was found to be 50 miles from the centre of the settlements, remote from all society, and surrounded by a wilderness of savages. Its extent so limited as to be insufficient to accommodate

the whole society, much less capable of receiving increasing numbers. The harbor incomparably less commodious, and more exposed to enemies than Plymouth. From these, and other considerations, the church, as a body, changed their determination, but a considerable number of respectable individuals resolved on a removal, and the church relinquished their rights, which were purchased by individuals, who removed and took possession.*

Orders agreed upon by the council of war. 1. That the lead be made up into bullets, and men hired to do it. 2. That when an alarm is made and continued in Plymouth, Duxbury, or Marshfield, there shall be 20 men sent from Plymouth, and as many from Duxbury, and ten from Marshfield, to relieve the place where the alarm is continued. 3. And when any other places stand in need of help, upon the continuing of the alarm, then a beacon to be fired, or else a great fire to be made, for Plymouth, upon the gallows hill, on the captain's hill for Duxbury, and on the hill by Mr. Thomas's house for Marshfield.

'It is worthy of serious remark,' says the writer in Historical Collections, vol. iii. second series, 'that nearly the same regulations have been resorted to by their posterity, in the war of the revolution, and now, (1815) not with the savages, but with a people of kindred origin.'

On the 16th of April of this year, the church and society were most grievously afflicted by the death of William Brewster, their ruling elder and kind benefactor. The life of this excellent man was protracted to the 84th year of his age.—*See his character in the Ecclesiastical History.*

* Among the principal people who removed from Plymouth to Eastham, were Thomas Prince, who had been twice governor of the colony, John Doane, one of the deacons of the church, Nicholas Snow, Josiah Cook, Richard Higgins, John Smalley, and Edward Bangs. Duxbury and Marshfield had before been settled entirely from Plymouth.

1646.—Great agitation was occasioned in Plymouth this year, by the arrival of Capt. Thomas Cromwell, with three ships of war, bringing with them several rich prizes, taken from the Spaniards. His seamen were exceedingly intemperate and riotous; one of them attempted the life of his commander, who, wresting his rapier from him, gave him a mortal wound on his head. The captain was tried by a court-martial, and acquitted.

The town was at this time almost deserted, in consequence of the removals to Eastham, and other towns, at different times. Governor Winthrop represents it as a special interposition of divine providence, that Captain Cromwell's squadron should have been compelled by stress of weather to put into the harbor, as, during their continuance of fourteen days, they spent liberally, and gave freely to the poorer sort. The freemen and townsmen, were, in number, seventy-nine only in town, at this time.

Mr. Edward Winslow was this year a third time despatched as agent to England, for the adjustment of some difficulties respecting the colonies of both Massachusetts and Plymouth. He executed his commission with great ability, and such was his high standing in that country, that he accepted some employment there, under O. Cromwell, and never returned to Plymouth, which was much lamented by his brethren in the colony.—*See Life of E. W. further on.*

1649.—*The death of Governor Winthrop,* of Massachusetts, this year, 1649, was considered as a heavy loss to all New England. It occasioned much grief and sorrow at Plymouth, where his counsel and advice had been often sought and received, as from one of sound judgment and the purest integrity. He died at the age of sixty. His life and character are ably delineated in the American Biography, and by many other writers who have been justly impressed with his worth and excellence. His Journal, edited by

Hon. James Savage, is deserving of the perusal of every family in New England.

Town meetings were first warned to be held in the meeting house, and selectmen were first chosen this year. The number were seven, five being a quorum.

1651.—William Thomas died this year, and was honorably buried at Marshfield. Mr. Thomas was one of the merchant adventurers in England, connected with the Plymouth planters, and came over about the year 1630. Secretary Morton says of him, 'that he was a well approved and well grounded Christian, and one that had a sincere desire to promote the common good both of church and state. He was chosen an assistant in 1642, and was re-elected to that office annually until his death.' His son, Nathaniel, served in Philip's war, in 1675. Many of his descendants reside at Marshfield. One of his descendants, General John Thomas, formerly of Kingston, commanded the American forces at Roxbury, at the commencement of the revolutionary war, and, after the death of general Montgomery, succeeded him in the command of the army in Canada. The late Hon. Joshua Thomas, of this town, another descendant, was one of his aids in that service.

Eight wolves were killed in Plymouth, and two in Duxbury.

Nathaniel Basset and Joseph Prior were fined twenty shillings each, for disturbing the church in Duxbury; and at the next town meeting or training day, each to be bound to a post for two hours in some public place, with a paper on their heads, on which their crime is written in capital letters. Miss J. Boulton for slandering, sentenced to sit in the stocks during the court's pleasure, and a paper written with capital letters to be made fast unto her all the time of her sitting there; all which was performed accordingly.

The town of Barnstable was presented for not contributing to build Eel river bridge. The towns of

Sandwich, Yarmouth, and Barnstable, being required to build it.

Jonathan Coventry, of Marshfield, was presented for making a motion of marriage to Catharine Bradbury without her master's consent.

L. Ramsgate was presented for lying, slandering and defaming her brother-in-law, T. R.

Joann, the wife of O. Mosely, was presented for beating her husband, and getting her children to help her, and bidding them knock him in the head, and wishing his victuals might choak him. Punished at home.

1655.—*Edward Winslow.* This gentleman was born in the year 1594, and was the son of Edward Winslow, of Droitwich, in Worcestershire, England. The family was ancient and honorable. In early life he entered on a course of travels on the continent of Europe, and forming an acquaintance with Rev. John Robinson, the puritan divine, he united himself with the church under his pastoral care while at Leyden, where he settled and married. He possessed a sound intellect, a pious heart, and happy address, and his eminent services in mitigating the sufferings and promoting the settlement of the pilgrims, entitle him to the gratitude of posterity. Accordingly we find his name mentioned with honor in all the records of transactions pertaining to our earliest history. It will be perceived by the preceding pages, that Mr. Winslow emigrated with the first company to America in the Mayflower in 1620, his family consisting of his wife Elizabeth, and three other persons. On his arrival at Cape Cod, he subscribed the covenant of incorporation, and his name is the third on the list. He was one of the company who first explored the shores and harbors of Cape Cod and Plymouth, and that selected the place as the foundation of the first town to be erected in the New England territories. His wife died March 24th, 1621, and on the 12th May following he married Susanna, the widow of William White.

This was the first marriage ever solemnized in New England, and the lady was the mother of Peregrine White, the first English child born in this newly discovered region. Mr. Winslow held the first interview with Massasoit on Strawberry hill, and volunteered himself a hostage while governor Carver negotiated a treaty with the Sagamore, April 2, 1621. In July the same year he performed a journey to Pokanoket, the seat of Massasoit, to ascertain his situation and to cultivate his friendship. He had the address to accomplish the object of his mission and to form a treaty of amity with the great sachem. In March 1623, he again visited Massasoit, accompanied by John Hampden, and ministered to his relief when dangerously sick. (See page 59.) He was despatched to England in September, 1623, as an agent to transact some concerns for the colony, and in the short time of six months he returned to Plymouth, bringing provisions, clothing, and the first stock of neat cattle ever in New England. While in England he published a narrative of the settlement and transactions of the colony at Plymouth, entitled 'Good News from New England, or a relation of things remarkable in that plantation—by Edward Winslow.' This narrative is abridged in Purchase's Pilgrims, and has been of great utility to all succeeding historians. Mr. Winslow being personally concerned in all the transactions which he related, and his veracity unquestionable, his writings are considered as entitled to unlimited confidence and credit. His narrative contains an interesting account of the manners and customs, the religious opinions and ceremonies of the aboriginal tribes with which he had made himself acquainted, and his writings will be read with profit by all who feel an interest in the subject and have a relish for simplicity and truth. During the same year he was again sent to England as agent for the colony. In the year 1625 he was elected one of the five assistants in the colonial government, in which office

he was continued till 1633, when he was elected governor of the colony for one year. From his activity, fortitude and perseverance, Mr. Winslow was well qualified to conduct enterprises and trading voyages, which he willingly performed for the benefit of the company. He undertook excursions of traffic to Penobscot, Kennebeck, and Connecticut rivers. In 1635, he accepted another mission to England, jointly for the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts. The subjects requiring this agency were the infringements made on the New England territories, by the French on the east, and the Dutch on the west, and also to answer complaints, which had been made to the government against the Massachusetts colony, by Thomas Morton, that miscreant who for his turbulent conduct at Mount Walliston, had been twice expelled the country. For a particular detail relative to the execution of this mission the reader is referred to the Ecclesiastical History in this volume.

When Mr. Winslow returned to Plymouth, 1636, he was cordially received, and elected to the office of governor, but the year following took his place among the magistrates. In 1643, the New England colonies united into a confederacy for mutual defence, when Mr. Winslow was chosen one of the commissioners in behalf of Plymouth, and was continued in that office three years, when, 1646, he was persuaded to undertake another embassy to England, to answer to the complaints of Samuel Gorton and others, who had charged the colonists with religious intolerance and persecution. At this period the puritan interest in England was predominant, and governor Winslow being held in high estimation for his excellencies, by those in power, he was enabled to accomplish the object in view to universal satisfaction. He was now in great favor with Oliver Cromwell, and was invited to accept of employment in his service. In 1654, he was appointed one of the commissioners to determine the value of the

English ships seized and detained by the king of Denmark. This commission is now deposited in the library of the Pilgrim Society, presented by Mr. Pelham Winslow, of Boston. It is on a large square vellum, having the representation of the protector included in the first letter. The last public service of governor Winslow was in 1655, when he was appointed by Cromwell one of three commissioners to superintend the operations of the fleet and army sent to the West Indies under admiral Penn and general Venables, where he fell a sacrifice to the diseases of the climate on the 8th of May, 1655, aged 61. His body was committed to the deep with the honors of war, forty-two guns being fired on the solemn occasion.

The New England Memorial, and whole early history of our country, bear testimony to the energy, activity, and well-directed exertions of governor Winslow. His efforts in behalf of the Indians illustrate his benevolence and piety. The society for propagating the gospel among the American Indians was formed principally under his influence at London, and it continued under the name of the London Society till the American revolution. His Good News from New England is a very rare work. The Massachusetts Historical Society has not been able to procure a copy of it; an abbreviation of it is in Purchase's Pilgrims, and is republished in the eighth volume of Collections. His account of the natives of New England, annexed to that tract, is inserted entire in the appendix to Belknap's Biography, volume second.

Governor Winslow's settlement in this country was at Marshfield, county of Plymouth, where he had a valuable tract of land. To this residence he gave the name of Careswell, from a castle and seat of that name in Straffordshire in England, as Dr. Belknap conjectures. The seat continued in the Winslow family till within the last few years. It will be conceded that few among the excellent christian puritans sus-

tained a higher character for genuine patriotism, christian benevolence and generous sympathy than the subject of this memoir. When the celebrated Roger Williams had by his eccentricities deprived himself of the favorable regard of his cotemporaries, and was reduced to a state of indigence, governor Winslow extended the hand of charity towards him, by kind advice and pecuniary aid. 'It pleased the Father of mercies,' said Mr. Williams, 'to touch many hearts with relentings, among whom that great and precious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and kindly visited me at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife, for our supply.'

'In New England,' says Dr. Holmes, (Annals,) 'his name will never be forgotten. His portrait is an excellent painting, the eye is black and expressive, and the whole countenance very interesting. The portrait is taken with whiskers. Josiah, son of Edward, is drawn without them. Beards were left off early in New England, and about the same time they were in the Old.'

A chair made of Old England oak was screwed to the floor of the cabin of the Mayflower, and belonged to the Winslow family. It was known to have been in the possession of Penelope Winslow, who married James Warren. This article of antiquity is now in the possession of Miss Hannah White of this town, who is a direct descendant of Peregrine White. The Winslows bequeathed their real estate to their sons, and personal to their daughters, many of whom were from poverty obliged to dispose of valuable articles out of the family, as diamond rings, silver salvers, silver skillets, and other articles of plate. Edward Winslow had four brothers, John, Kenelm, Gilbert, and Josiah, and three sisters, Eleanor, Elizabeth, and Maydelon. Gilbert accompanied his brother, in the Mayflower, 1620. John came the next year in the Fortune. John Winslow removed to Boston. Josiah, also, the youngest brother, came into this country. One of the brothers settled

at Rochester, one at Cape Cod, and another at Portsmouth, N. H.

1656.—This year, it was ordered that card playing should be punished by a fine of fifty shillings. Servants or children, playing at cards, dice, or other unlawful games, for the first offence to be corrected by their parents or master; for the second, to be publicly whipped. A law was passed by which a magistrate, at his discretion, was authorized to inflict corporal punishment on all who denied the Scriptures to be a rule of life.

Vilifying any church or ordinance, was punished by a fine of ten shillings.

Profaning the Lord's day, by a fine of ten shillings, or a public whipping. Neglecting to attend public worship on each Lord's day, by a fine of ten shillings.

1656.—We have now to notice the lamented death of that hero of the Pilgrims, Captain Miles Standish. He died at his residence in Duxbury, this year, at a very advanced age. Captain Standish was one of the companions of Carver, Bradford and Winslow, in the Mayflower, and shared in all the perils and privations to which they were subjected. He was one of the first settlers of Duxbury, but resided occasionally at Plymouth, especially in the winter months, and was the principal officer of the garrison at that place.

In 1645, when warlike movements were commenced against the Narragansets, Standish commanded the Plymouth troops. In 1653, when hostilities with the Dutch at Manhattan were apprehended, a council of war was appointed in Plymouth colony, of which Standish was one. Warrants were issued for the impressment of 60 men, and Standish was appointed to command them. It thus appears that he continued active in military employments, on every necessary occasion, until within three years of his death. He was frequently one of the board of assistants. After the loss of his wife in 1620-1, he soon married again. 'In the assignment

of lands in 1623, the name of Mrs. Standish is on the list; we know not the previous name of the lady, but it appears she came in the ship Ann. In 1627, when the cattle were divided, he stands at the head of the third lot, with his wife Barbara.' Charles, Alexander, and John, his children, are associated with him in that assignment. Alexander married Sarah Alden, daughter of John Alden. Dr. Belknap informs us that Dr. Wheelock, President of Dartmouth College, and the father of Dr. Kirkland, President of Harvard College, are descended from him. In the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society are exhibited the swords of Standish, Carver and Brewster. The possession would be more precious, if their identity were more satisfactorily ascertained.' (The identical sword of Capt. Standish is now in the cabinet of the Pilgrim Society, substantiated by unquestionable authority.) The Rev. T. Alden, Jr. in his collection of Epitaphs, gives an amusing traditionary anecdote relative to the connubial pursuits of Capt. Standish, and his friend John Alden. The lady who had gained the affections of the Captain, is said to have been Priscilla Mullens, daughter of William Mullens. John Alden was sent to make proposals in behalf of Standish. The messenger, though a pilgrim, was young and comely, and the lady, with perfect naiveté, expressed her preference by the question, *Prithee, John, why do you not speak for yourself?* The Captain's hopes were blasted, and the frank overture soon ended in the marriage of John Alden and Priscilla Mullens, from whom, we are informed, are descended all of the name of Alden in the United States. The Captain, it is added, never forgave his friend Alden to the day of his death. As he was so soon afterwards united to another lady of his choice, we may hope that the account of the inveterate resentment is exaggerated. Their long connexion together at the board of assistants, their settlement in the same neighborhood, and their family connexion by the inter-

marriage of their children, lead us to presume that they lived in habits of friendship. This anecdote has often been repeated in the Old Colony, in fire-side chat about the pilgrims, but with circumstances which would refer the incident to a later period.—*Memorial Appendix.*

Dr. Belknap gives us many respectable names of the honorable house from which Miles Standish descended, beginning with Henry Standish, D. D. Bishop of St. Asaph, in the reign of Henry VIII. In the account of Duxbury, (Historical Collections, vol. ii.) the name of the town is supposed to have been assumed by its first settlers, in allusion to their captain or leader. This appears questionable. The compliment would have been merited, but it is doubtful whether among such a people it would have been proposed or admitted. In '*Ancient Vestiges*,' the manuscript in the note, p. 226 (Memorial) there is this remark; 'So late as 1707, I find that Sir Thomas Standish lived at *Duxbury*, the name of the family seat in Lancashire.'

Captain Standish, it is said, was of small stature, but of a fiery temper, and perhaps no man ever possessed a more daring and intrepid spirit. The hill so conspicuous in the southeast part of the town of Duxbury, is called Captain's Hill or Mount, as it makes a part of the farm which was Captain Standish's.

1657.—On the 9th of March, William Bradford, governor of the colony, was called to join the congregation of the dead in the sixty-ninth year of his age. This bereavement was peculiarly afflictive to the pilgrims, for he was one who had shared largely in their perils, their griefs, and toils, and was revered as the prop and glory of the colony. He was born in England, in 1588. Both his parents dying while he was in early youth, he was left to the protection of his grand-parents, and after them to his uncles. His patrimony was large, but his station in life was amongst the yeomanry, and he was bred to agriculture. The early loss

of his parents probably gave a serious cast to his mind, and he devoted all his leisure time to the reading of the scriptures; and notwithstanding the opposition and angry remonstrances of all his relations, this inexperienced youth embraced the doctrines which were taught by the venerable Clifton, and afterwards by Robinson, and became one of their most devoted followers. He was a zealous advocate for the removal of the company to America, and was a passenger in the Mayflower. On their arrival at Cape Cod harbor, his wife unfortunately fell overboard, and was drowned in his absence. On the death of governor Carver, although only thirty-two years old, and confined at the time by sickness, he was unanimously elected his successor, as governor of the colony. He conducted the affairs of the colony, for the greater part of the time, as chief, and two or three years as second magistrate, with consummate prudence and ability, for a period of more than thirty-one years. 'In the transactions with the Indians, he was strictly just; and after those unavoidable sparklings which the neighborhood of two races of men, like the collision of flint and steel, are sure to strike out at first, the animosities which vicinage engendered were allayed, and he preserved the relations of peace unbroken. His mingled system of mildness and energy conciliated their affections, and extorted their respect. When necessary, he alarmed their fears. When the emblematic defiance of the Sachem of the Narragansetts was conveyed in the shape of a bundle of arrows, bound together by the skin of a serpent, he answered it promptly, by sending back the skin filled with powder and bullets.'—(See page 49 of this vol.) He soon understood all the peculiarities of their simple characters. His sagacity in detecting, and his energy in overcoming, the designs of the factionists, were on every occasion most happily displayed. He was, at an early period, aware of the danger of supplying the Indians with fire-arms, and warned his countrymen

against putting such formidable instruments into their hands. The natives, he observed, were well provided with muskets, powder and shot, and were so well skilled in their use as even to keep the English in awe, and give the law to them when they pleased. They have flints, screw plates and moulds for shot, and can mend and new stock their pieces almost as well as Englishmen. Thus like madmen, we put them in the way to kill us with our own weapons. They know their advantage so well, they scruple not to say that they can when they please drive the English away or kill them. It is to be observed that the natives were supplied with arms and ammunition chiefly by the people of the Massachusetts colony. Although governor Bradford's early pursuits were unfavorable to the cultivation of learning, yet he applied himself with great diligence to the study of the ancient languages, both Greek and Latin. Of the Hebrew his knowledge was intimate, and the French and Dutch he spoke with ease. He read much on subjects of history and philosophy. In theology he was deeply versed, and few there were who could contend with him successfully in a polemical dispute. He wrote considerably; the loss of his valuable manuscript history of the colony to 1646 can never be supplied. As chief magistrate, he was compelled to deal with many turbulent spirits, yet he seldom failed to enforce respect both to the laws and the magistrates, rather by appealing to the sense of shame and fear of self-degradation, than by the exercise of the penal authority of the government. His faith endured to the last, and he died full of hope; conversing with his friends on the day of his death, he spoke with the cheerfulness of a saint. God, said he, has given me a pledge of my happiness in another world, and the first fruits of eternal glory. 'Governor Bradford,' says Dr. Cotton Mather, 'died lamented by all the colonists of New England, as a common father of them all.' On the 14th August, 1624, governor Bradford was

married to Mrs. Alice Southworth, a lady of extraordinary capacity and worth. There was an early attachment, it is said, between governor Bradford and Mrs. Southworth, and their marriage was prevented by her parents on account of the inferior circumstances or rank of Mr. Bradford. Being now a widower, he by letters to England made overtures of marriage to Mrs. Southworth, who was then a widow. The proposal was accepted, and with generous resolution she embarked in the ship Ann, in 1623, to meet her intended partner, who, she well knew, could not leave his responsible station in the infant settlement. Her two sons, Thomas and Constant Southworth, came over with her. This lady was well educated and brought considerable property into the country. She died in 1670, aged 80 years, and was honorably interred on the 29th March, at New Plymouth. It is said in the old colony records, 'She was a godly matron, and much loved while she lived, and lamented, though aged, when she died.' Mrs. Bradford was highly eulogized by Elder Faunce, for her exertions in promoting the literary improvement and the deportment of the rising generation, according to accounts he had received from some of her cotemporaries. Governor Bradford was without doubt interred on our burial hill, but the antiquarian who visits the place must be impressed with melancholy regret, that the remains of one so eminently meritorious as was this excellent man, should be suffered to moulder in the dust without a monumental stone to designate the spot. There is at each of the graves of the two sons, an ordinary stone, but the grave of the illustrious sire is level with the earth, and known only by tradition. Even at this remote period, it would be honorable and a blessing to posterity, could a suitable monument be erected, that future inquiring antiquarians might know where to resort to lean over the remains and meditate on the virtues and glorious deeds, of one of the principal

founders of our empire. Greatly should we rejoice to see the venerated name, which has for two centuries been veiled in temporary oblivion, brought forth to immortal memory by a grateful posterity. We have little doubt but this desirable object might be effected, were a subscription to be put in circulation for that purpose. The family bible of governor Bradford is still in existence. It is in the possession of Mr. Asa Waters, of Stoughton, who exhibited it in this town in October, 1831. The bible was printed in the year 1592, and it contains a written list of the names of the family of Elisha Bradford, who was the grandson of governor William Bradford. That this ancient and honorable family may be traced in all its branches to the present generation, the following genealogical detail is here recorded.

Governor Bradford had one son by his first wife, whose name was John. He was deputy from Duxbury in 1652, and from Marshfield in 1653; after which he is frequently mentioned in the Plymouth records as selectman, and on various committees; and in 1690, he was deputy to the general court from Plymouth. By his second wife, he had three children, William, Mercy, and Joseph. Mercy married Benjamin Vermage, mentioned in the Appendix to governor Winthrop's History, vol. ii. p. 372. William Bradford, son of the governor, obtained high distinction in the colony, being elected an assistant soon after the decease of his father, and chief military commander. He had the title of Major, and was an officer in Philip's war. He married for his first wife, Alice Richards, by whom he had four sons, John, William, Thomas, and Samuel. Thomas moved to Connecticut; Samuel settled at Duxbury, from whom the Bradfords in that place descended. William Bradford's second wife was the widow Wiswall, by whom he had one son, Joseph, who moved to Connecticut. His third wife was Mrs. Mary Holmes, widow of the Rev. John

Holmes, the second minister of Duxbury, by whom he had four sons, Israel, Ephraim, David, and Hezekiah. When the colonial government terminated in 1692, Major Bradford was deputy governor, and afterwards was chosen counsellor of Massachusetts. He died February 20th, 1703, aged seventy-nine years. In his will, dated Jan. 29th, 1703, he provides for nine sons and six daughters, by which it appears that he had fifteen children—a noble bequest to the new territory. The late aged Ebenezer Cobb,* of Kingston, remembered the funeral of deputy governor Bradford. The public road being obstructed by a deep snow, the corpse was brought from the family residence near Jones's river, along the sea-shore, it being the express desire of the deceased to be buried near the body of his father. His tombstone indicates the spot where the governor was probably interred: the father lying on the east side of the son, while the other son, Joseph, lies in another row northerly.

The governor's son Joseph lived near Jones's river, had a son named Elisha, who had several children. He died July 10th, 1715, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and was buried on the Burial-hill at Plymouth. Major John Bradford, son of Major William, married Mercy Warren, daughter of Joseph Warren. Their children were John, Alice, Abigail, Mercy, Samuel, Priscilla, and William. He died December 8th, 1736, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Mercy, his widow, died 1747, in her ninety-fourth year. Lieut. Samuel Bradford, son of the aforesaid Major John Bradford, married Sarah Gray, daughter of Edward Gray, of Tiverton, Rhode Island, and granddaughter of Edward Gray of Plymouth. Their issue were John, Gideon, William, who died young, Mary, Sarah, William, Mercy, who died young, Abigail,

* Mr. Ebenezer Cobb was an inhabitant of Kingston, and died December 8th, 1801, aged 107 years, eight months, and six days.

Phebe, and Samuel. The aforesaid Lieut. Samuel Bradford, lived and died in Plympton, 1740, aged fifty-six years. His widow married William Hunt, of Martha's Vineyard, and died in 1770. The Hon. William Bradford, late of Bristol, Rhode Island, was a son of the above Samuel Bradford. He was born at Plympton, Nov. 4th, 1729, and died in July, 1808. He was deputy governor of Rhode Island, speaker of the house of representatives, and member of congress. His residence was near the celebrated Mount Hope, and the story of King Philip, the aboriginal proprietor, was familiar to his mind. His descendants are numerous. Gideon Bradford, son of the above Lieut. Samuel Bradford, married Jane Paddock, and had issue, Levi, Joseph, Sarah, Samuel, Gideon, Calvin, and Jenney. He died in Plympton, 1793, in his seventy-fifth year. Levi, son of the above Gideon, married Elizabeth Lewis. Their children were Lewis, Joseph, Levi, Daniel, Ezra, Elizabeth, and Sarah. He died in Homer, N. Y. 1812, aged seventy-nine years.

Colonel Gamaliel Bradford descended from the first Samuel. He lived at Duxbury, and commanded a regiment of continental troops during the revolutionary war. His son Gamaliel, entered the American army when a youth, and was an officer at the close of the war. He possessed a patriotic spirit and a noble mind, and was distinguished in various pursuits in private life. Another son of Gamaliel is the present Alden Bradford, for several years secretary of our commonwealth, and the author of a valuable history of Massachusetts, and the president of the Pilgrim Society.

While destitute of horses, it was not uncommon for people to ride on bulls; and there is a tradition that when John Alden went to Cape Cod to be married to Priscilla Mullens, he covered his bull with a handsome piece of broadcloth, and rode on his back. On his return, he seated the bride on the bull, and led the animal by a rope fixed in the nose ring.

The first notice of horses on record is in 1644, when a mare belonging to the estate of Stephen Hopkins was appraised at £6 sterling. In 1647, in the inventory of Thomas Blise, a colt was appraised at £4 sterling. In 1647, in Joseph Holliway's inventory one mare and a year old colt were appraised at £14. In June, 1657, the colony court passed an act that every freeholder that kept three mares, and would keep one horse for military service, should be freed from all military service, training and watching.

In 1665 the colony court made a present of a horse to King Philip. It would gratify curiosity to know in what manner King Philip, and the natives in general were affected by the first sight of horses and cows; their minds must have been overwhelmed with astonishment to see men riding on horses and bulls.

Trouble with the Quakers. This year was rendered memorable by an unhappy commotion and personal collision with a new sect of religionists, styled Quakers. This controversy would seem to have been engendered by a spirit of fanaticism, approaching to frenzy, on one part, and of pious zeal, allied to bigotry, on the other. Our puritan fathers having experienced the bitterness of intolerance and persecution from tyrants, were willing that a measure of the same spirit should be construed into the rights of conscience, and become a duty when exercised by themselves. That confiding temper in the purity of their own sentiments, and religious ardor for the glory of God, could not brook the smallest deviation from the course which they deemed strictly orthodox; and their jealous apprehensions of heresy led them, on some occasions, to acts inconsistent with their professed principles of Christian liberty and charity. But palliating circumstances in the case must not be overlooked. In their religious and local concerns, the puritans, about this period, were reduced to a deplorable condition. Not a few of their society had manifested a coolness and indifference to the stated

preaching of the gospel by qualified clergymen, preferring to exercise their own personal gifts. An alarming defect of reverence and support of ministers was spreading through other towns in the colony, and schisms in churches were not unfrequent. No less than five distinguished ministers in the colony were obliged to separate from their societies for the want of support, and two others died, and all their places remained unsupplied about the same time. Three other parishes were also destitute. It was at this critical juncture that the vexatious intrusion of the quakers occurred, to their great annoyance. Not only were their tenets at first deemed exceedingly obnoxious, and even blasphemous, but the demeanor of some individuals of the sect was audacious and provoking beyond endurance.—'When the quakers appeared in New England,' says Hon. Mr. Baylies, 'it was during their first effervescence; the materials were still fermenting, and had not as yet worked off the scum and the dregs, which all new religious sects are sure to bring up.'

It was ordered by the court, that in case any shall bring in any quaker, ranter, or other notorious heretic, either by land or water, into any part of this government, he shall forthwith, upon order of any one magistrate, return them to the place from whence they came, or clear the government of them, on the penalty of paying a fine of 20*s.* for every week that they shall stay in the government, after warning. A more severe law was afterwards passed. 'It is therefore enacted by the court and authority thereof, that no quaker, or person commonly so called, be entertained by any person or persons within this government, under penalty of £5 for every such default, or be whipt.'

On the 6th of October, 1657, Humphrey Norton, claiming to be a prophet, was summoned to appear at the court, and on examination found guilty (according to the court record) of divers horrid errors. He was sentenced speedily to depart the government, and

the under-marshal was required to take him into custody, and to conduct him to Assonet, near Rhode Island. 'The spirit of Norton was not subdued, and he returned again into the Plymouth jurisdiction, accompanied by one John Rouse. These quakers appeared at the court in June, 1658, and were apprehended and committed to prison. When they were examined before the court, Norton said sundry times to the governor, 'Prince, thou lyest; Thomas, thou art a malicious man.' The conduct of Rouse was equally turbulent. They were remanded, but in a short time were again brought before the court. Norton again abused the governor with much foul language, saying, 'Thy clamorous tongue I regard no more than the dust under my feet; and thou art like a scolding woman, and thou pratest and deridest me,' &c.

Norton and Rouse were severally required, that, as they professed themselves to be subjects to the state of England, they should take an oath of fidelity to be true to that state, which they refused to do, saying they would take no oath at all. On this refusal they were sentenced to a whipping. This punishment was inflicted, for which the under-marshal required a fee. They refused to pay, and were again committed to prison, where they remained until they compromised with the marshal, and left the jurisdiction.*

Norton afterwards addressed the governor by letter in such language as, 'Thomas Prince, thou hast bent thy heart to work wickedness, and with thy tongue hast set forth deceit; thou imaginest mischief upon thy bed, and hatchest thy hatred in thy secret chamber; the strength of darkness is over thee, and a malicious mouth hast thou opened against God and his anointed, and with thy tongue and lips hast thou uttered perverse things; thou hast slandered the innocent, by

* In our times we should think that public whipping is a sufficient punishment, without obliging the culprit to pay the whipper's fee.

railing, lying, and false accusations, and with thy barbarous heart hast thou caused their blood to be shed,' &c. &c.—'John Alden is to thee like unto a pack-horse, where upon thou layest thy beastly bag; cursed are all they that have a hand therein; the cry of vengeance will pursue thee day and night.' After continuing in this strain at great length, he closes thus, 'The anguish and pain that will enter thy veins will be like gnawing worms lodging betwixt thy heart and liver. When these things come upon thee, and thy back bowed down with pain, in that day and hour thou shalt know to thy grief that prophets of the Lord God we are, and the God of vengeance is our God.' Norton addressed a letter to John Alden, one of the assistants and a member of the court, couched in language equally abusive as the above.

If the primitive government of Plymouth rendered itself censurable for the rigor of its laws, and the cruelty of the punishments inflicted on the quakers, their posterity have the consoling reflection, that among the honorable society of quakers at the present day, no one can be found that would give countenance to such outrageous conduct as that of Norton and Rouse; so on the other hand, may we safely vouch, that none among the descendants of the puritan fathers will pretend to find a justification of the harsh measures prosecuted against them. Most happy is the day, when these opposing sects are harmoniously united in christian charity, and in brotherly love; the quakers distinguished for benevolence, purity of morals, and peaceful demeanor, their friends for erudition, liberality of sentiment and christian knowledge and philanthropy. But the reader has not yet learnt the whole history of the quaker controversy.

Several other disfranchising laws were passed by the Plymouth general court against these people. On the 8th of May, 1659, five men and one woman were sentenced, according to a previous order of court, to

banishment, to depart out of the jurisdiction by the 8th day of June, on pain of death; delaying, they were to be imprisoned, tried, and if found guilty of the breach of this law, were to be put to death. The following judicious observations are cited from Hon. F. Baylies, vol. ii. p. 38. 'The quakers who first appeared in the colony of Plymouth were not inhabitants, but came from abroad. Although they professed the principles of peace and benevolence, yet they waged a furious war against a religion which was much endeared to the people whom they were endeavoring to proselyte; for which that people had suffered much, and were impressed with a strong conviction of its truth.'

Their laws, their government, their forms of worship, all which they had been taught to venerate, and accustomed to love, were denounced in no very civil terms by strangers. Their magistrates and ministers were reviled in terms of insolent abuse; it is not surprising, therefore, that they should have attempted to check (what appeared to them to be) blasphemy and impiety. Although these new expounders of scripture styled themselves the prophets of God, yet it was not an unnatural or strange belief, in that day, that they should have been regarded as men 'possessed with demons.' 'To check their disorders, banishment was deemed the mildest punishment. Norton was sent beyond the settlements, but on the next year he returned, in defiance of the government. It is not unlikely that the deportment of governor Prince to Norton was domineering and arrogant, for he detested schismatics, and hated those who despised and derided 'human learning.' Yet one far more indulgent than the governor, in the same station, must have been possessed of uncommon self-command, if he could have tolerated personal insults, and tamely have suffered himself to have been called a 'liar' and 'a malicious man,' while in the very exercise of his high

authority on the judgment seat, and presiding in the court. Even in these times, under the system of toleration, and with a mitigated penal code, 'contempt of court' is deemed a high offence, and is punished accordingly. Still it is best that the hand of power should fall gently on all those who pretend, (even if it be nothing but pretence,) to act under the impulse of religious feeling. The errors of honest and sincere zealots are to be excused, not punished, unless the order and peace of society are disturbed to such a degree that the restraint of the offender becomes an act of necessity.'

During this high excitement in the colony, and still greater in that of Massachusetts, Mr. Cudworth, Mr. Allerton, and some others, appeared in opposition to the measures pursued against the quakers, in consequence of which they became so unpopular that they were left out of their offices of magistrates. At length, the court were disposed to try the effect of a more conciliatory treatment. For the purpose of bringing the quakers to a sense of their mistakes, the laws were so far relaxed as to permit certain persons to attend their meetings, 'to endeavor to reduce them from the error of their ways;' this permission was given to Isaac Robinson, the son of the celebrated Leyden pastor, and three others. 'But,' says Mr. Baylies, 'the government were not aware of their danger. The fanaticism of a new sect is always an overmatch for that which has been cooled and tempered by time.' Isaac Robinson, an excellent and sensible man, who had received the permission of the court to attend these meetings, instead of convincing the quakers of their errors, became self-convicted, embraced many of their doctrines, and consequently rendered himself so obnoxious, that he was dismissed from civil employment, and exposed to much censure and some indignity.

In 1660, the alarm not having entirely subsided,

the court of Plymouth were induced to pass additional laws to stem the torrent of quakerism. All persons were now authorized to apprehend such quakers, and to deliver them to the constables, that they might be carried before the governor or some magistrate. And to prevent their speedy passage from place to place, to 'poison the inhabitants with their cursed tenets,' all persons were prohibited from supplying them with horses, on pain of forfeiture, and their own horses were also made liable to forfeiture.

It was also enacted, that any one that shall bring in any quaker or ranter, by land or water into this government, viz. by being a guide to them or any other wise, shall be fined, to the use of the government, the sum of £10 for every default. 'If the quakers or such like vagabonds shall come into any town of this government, the marshal or constable shall apprehend him or them, and upon examination so appearing, he shall whip them, or cause them to be whipped with rods, so it exceed not fifteen stripes. It was also enacted that all persons permitting the quakers to hold meetings in their houses, on conviction before the general court, should be publicly whipped, or pay £5.

But I am exceeding my intended limits on this theme; and however interesting may be the sequel, I shall only add that 'in a few years there appeared a revulsion in the popular feeling, and Mr. Cudworth, Mr. Brown, and Isaac Robinson were restored to favor.'

The tragedy at Boston produced a deep sympathy for the sufferers, and when it was seen that the quakers could die for their faith, the people could not resist the belief that they were sincere.*

* In July, 1656, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, both of the denomination of quakers, arrived at Boston, from Barbadoes, and about a month afterwards eight more came into that colony from Rhode Island.

The first quakers who appeared in New England, arrived in July. The general court of Massachusetts considered them alike hostile to civil and to ecclesiastical order, passed sentence of ban-

August 21*st*, 1658.—Died William Paddy, aged 58 years.

Mr. Paddy for several years was elected deputy to the general court for Plymouth, and was also a deacon of the church, and possessed considerable wealth. He sustained an irreproachable character, was devoted to the best interests of the colony, and was useful in both church and state. He removed to Boston in 1651. He had two sons born in Plymouth, Thomas and Samuel, but the name appears to be now extinct.*

It was this year ordered that profaning the Lord's day by travelling, carrying burdens, &c. be fined twenty shillings, or set in the stocks four hours.

M. B. having been sentenced for telling a lie, the court having examined particulars, have cleared her, but desired Mr. Hatherly, from the court to admonish her to be wary of giving offence to others by unnecessary talking. J. W. to be sharply reproved for writing a note on common business on Lord's day. E. H. for telling a lie, and R. J. for neglecting public worship, fined ten shillings each.

The court appointed Josiah Winslow and Constant Southworth, with the treasurer, to agree with workmen

ishment on twelve persons of that sect, the whole number then in the colony. The most sanguinary laws were passed against the sect by the Massachusetts general court, which may be found in Hutchinson, Hubbard, and Hazard. In 1659, two men and one woman were tried before the general court of Massachusetts, and sentenced to die. The two men were executed, and the woman, Mary Dyer, was reprieved, on condition of her departure from the jurisdiction in forty-eight hours; and if she returned, to suffer the sentence. She was carried, however, to the gallows; and stood with a rope about her neck until the others were executed. This infatuated woman returned, and was executed in 1660. Many of these deluded people actually courted persecution.

* A singular incident occurred at Boston in the summer of 1830. Some workmen employed in removing the earth from the north side of the Old State House, dug up a tombstone, considerable broken, on one side of which was the following inscription:

'Here lyeth the body of Mr. William Paddy. Departed this life August 1658.' From the records it appears that he was one of the selectmen of Boston at the time of his death.

to erect a house of correction, to be added to the prison, fourteen feet in length, with a chimney to it.

1660.—The council of war ordered, that during any appearance of danger, a military watch be kept in each town in the most convenient places for giving an alarm, and also to watch the sea coast and observe the motions of any ships that may appear. The firing of three muskets shall make an alarm in the night, and fires to be made where the alarm is given. The Dutch and French to be considered as common enemies. The following instance of marriage may perhaps be ascribed to quaker influence. R. W. and M. C. for marrying disorderly, and without parents' consent, one sentenced to pay £10 fine, and imprisoned during pleasure of court; and being desirous of being orderly married, were accordingly, this 9th of March, 1660. E. M. for accompanying and countenancing the above mentioned persons, fined twenty shillings. R. B. summoned to appear to answer for speaking contemptuously of singing psalms, and was convicted of the fact, and promised that he would be warned of so doing for the future. The court sharply admonished him, and that he should acknowledge his fault, which he engaged to do, and was discharged.

1661.—At the court which assembled in June, a loyal declaration was made in favor of King Charles II. who had been restored to the throne of his ancestors.

R. Smith for lying concerning seeing a whale and other things, fined twenty shillings. A. Bessey for her cruel and unnatural practice towards her father-in-law, G. Barlow, in chopping of him in the back, fined twenty shillings, or to be whipped.

D. B. and M. B. for the like towards their said father-in-law, not in so high degree, both sentenced to sit in the stocks during the pleasure of court, which was performed.

The colony during this year sold, for £400 sterling, their lands on Kennebec river, to Antipas Boyes,

Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle, and John Winslow, and they originated the celebrated Plymouth company.

£60 was assessed for purchasing a place for the minister at Plymouth.

1662.—S. H. for carrying a grist of corn from mill on Sunday, fined 20 shillings, or to be whipped.

W. F. for suffering him to take it from the mill, fined 10 shillings.

William Randall for telling a lie, fined 10 shillings.

Clark's island was now abandoned, and not improved by any one.

Town expenses, £25. 5*s*. 3*d*. Ten pounds was assessed to procure bellows and tools for a smith, for the use of the town.

Philip, sachem of Pokanoket, made his appearance at the court of Plymouth, and solicited the continuance of the amity and friendship which had subsisted between the governor of Plymouth and his father (Massasoit) and brother. To that end he desired, for himself and his successors, that they might forever remain subject to the king of England, his heirs and successors; and promised that he and his would truly and exactly observe and keep inviolable such conditions as had formerly been made by his predecessors; and particularly that he would not, at any time, needlessly or unjustly provoke or raise war with any of the natives; nor give, sell, or dispose of any lands to strangers, or to any others without their privity or appointment; but would in all things endeavor to live peaceably and inoffensively towards the English. The court expressed their willingness to continue the friendship; and promised to afford the Indians such friendly assistance by advice and otherwise, as they justly might, and to require their own people at all times to maintain a friendly conduct towards them. The original name of Philip was Matacomet. Mather says, it was at this time that he desired an English name, and that the court named him Philip. Judge

Davis says, 'After the death of Massasoit, about the year 1656, his two sons, Wamsutta and Metacomet, came to the court at Plymouth, and professing great respect, requested English names might be given them. Wamsutta, the eldest brother, was thereupon named Alexander; the youngest, Metacomet, was called Philip.'—*Note on Morton.* The agreement in court was soon after the death of Alexander.—*Holmes' Annals.**

1663.—Mr. John Brown, who had frequently been an assistant in the government, having been elected in 1636, and continued by successive elections to 1656, died this year at his residence in Rehoboth. He was also one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies from 1644 to 1655. James Brown, who was chosen an assistant in 1665, and lived at Swansey, was his son.

'We find the same remark made respecting Mr. Brown as of Mr. Winslow and Captain Standish, that, while on their travels, they became casually acquainted with the refugees at Leyden, and were so attached to them, on acquaintance, as to unite themselves to their society. A connexion thus formed and continued through so many difficulties, is alike honorable to all parties; we are led to infer, that there was something prepossessing in the deportment of the pilgrims, interesting and congenial to generous minds.'

Jan. 26.—There was a tremendous earthquake in the northern parts of America. It was felt throughout New England.—*See Judge Davis's note on Morton, p.* 289, 294.

This year the ministerial house was built in Plymouth, and £60 voted to finish it. Half the payment in tar and corn; the tar to be twelve pence in the barrel cheaper than at Boston; the other half in

* Some very interesting particulars respecting the subsequent conduct of these two Indians, and the origin of the memorable contest, denominated Philip's war, may be found in Judge Davis's note in the Memorial, p. 287.

wheat, barley, pease, butter, or money. This parsonage house was erected on the north side of First street, (Leyden street) just below the present precinct house, but not on the same lot. The houses belonging to Barnabas Churchill's heirs, and to Le Baron's heirs, now occupy the place. The lot on which stands the present precinct mansion house, was given to the First Church of Christ in Plymouth, by Bridget Fuller and Samuel Fuller, the worthy widow and son of Dr. Samuel Fuller.

In 1664, king Charles II. issued a commission empowering Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, George Cartwright, and Samuel Maverick, Esquires, 'to hear and determine complaints and appeals in all cases, as well military as criminal and civil,' within New England, and to proceed in all things for settling the peace and security of the country. His majesty caused letters to be addressed to the government of New Plymouth, in which are many expressions of royal grace and favor, promising to preserve all their liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation; and enjoining loyalty, affection and obedience on the part of his New England subjects.

Thomas Willet was chosen to confer with the commissioners in behalf of the Plymouth colony, making respectful professions of fidelity and allegiance.

The following are the propositions made by his majesty's commissioners to the general court of (New Plymouth) held at Plymouth, for the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, the twenty-second of February, Ann. Dom. 1665.

1. That all householders inhabiting in the colony take the oath of allegiance, and the administration of justice be in his majesty's name.

2. That all men of competent estates and civil conversation, though of different judgments, may be admitted to be freemen, and have liberty to choose and to be chosen officers, both civil and military.

3. That all men and women of orthodox opinions, competent knowledge, and civil lives, (not scandalous,) may be admitted to the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and their children to baptism, if they desire it; either by admitting them into the congregations already gathered, or permitting them to gather themselves into such congregations, where they may have the benefit of the sacraments.

4. That all laws and expressions in laws, derogatory to his majesty, if any such have been made in these late troublesome times, may be repealed, altered, or taken off from the file.

The Court's Answer. 1. To the first we consent, it having been the practice of this court, in the first place, to insert in the oath of fidelity required of every householder, to be truly loyal to our sovereign lord, the king, his heirs, and successors. Also, to administer all acts of justice in his majesty's name.

2. To the second we also consent, it having been our constant practice to admit men of competent estates and civil conversation, though of different judgments, yet being otherwise orthodox, to be freemen, and to have liberty to choose and be chosen officers, both civil and military.

3. To the third we cannot, but acknowledge it to be a high favor from God and from our sovereign that we may enjoy our conscience in point of God's worship; the main end of transplanting ourselves into these remote corners of the earth, and should most heartily rejoice, that all our neighbors, so qualified as in that proposition, would adjoin themselves to our societies according to the order of the gospel, for enjoyment of the sacraments to themselves and theirs; but if, through different persuasions respecting church government, it cannot be obtained, we would not deny a liberty to any according to the proposition that are truly conscientious, although differing from us, especially where his majesty commands it, they maintaining an able

preaching ministry for the carrying on of public sabbath worship, which, we doubt not, is his majesty's intent, and withdraw not from paying their due proportion of maintenance to such ministers as are orderly settled in the places where they live, until they have one of their own, and that in such places as are capable of maintaining the worship of God in two distinct congregations. We being greatly encouraged by his majesty's gracious expressions in his letter to us, and your honor's further assurance of his Royal purpose, to continue our liberties, that where places, by reason of our paucity and poverty, are incapable of two, it is not intended that such congregations as are already in being should be rooted out, but their liberties preserved, there being other places to accommodate men of different persuasions in societies by themselves, which, by our known experience, tends most to the preservation of peace and charity.

4. To the fourth we consent that all laws and expressions in laws derogatory to his majesty, if any such shall be formed amongst us, which at present we are not conscious of, shall be repealed, altered and taken off from the file.

By order of the general court for the jurisdiction of New Plymouth.
Per me,

NATHANIEL MORTON,
Secretary.

The conditions expressed in the answer to the third proposition appeared so reasonable to the commissioners, that when they afterward met the general assembly of Connecticut, in April, 1665, their third proposition is qualified in substance, conformably to the Plymouth reply.—*Judge Davis's Ed. Memoir.*

So favorable was the report of the Royal commissioners respecting the affairs and proceedings of the Plymouth colony, that in 1666 his majesty addressed a second letter to that government, in which the Royal

approbation and praise are expressed in exalted terms, presuming that the fidelity and affection for their sovereign are 'rooted in their hearts.' 'Although,' says the letter, 'your carriage of itself must justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with more lustre by the contrary deportment of the colony of Massachusetts, as if by their refractoriness they had designed to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance with our directions for the peaceable and good government of our subjects in those parts. You may, therefore, assure yourselves, that we shall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behavior, but shall upon all occasions take notice of it to your advantage, promising you our constant protection and royal favor in all things that may concern your safety, peace, and welfare. And so we bid you farewell.'

At the general court of magistrates and deputies assembled at Plymouth in October, 1665, it was deemed indispensably necessary that Governor Prince should remove his residence from Eastham to Plymouth for the more convenient administration of justice, and he having complied with the requisition, the court therefore ordered that his salary should be £50 per annum. And as he resided in a place which had been purchased by the colony 'for that end,' it was further ordered, in case of his decease, his family should be permitted to remain in the place for a year; or if he should not be re-elected, he should be at liberty to remain in the government house a year.

With respect to the assistants, it was enacted that the old magistrates should be allowed £20 per annum, and that the charge of their table should be defrayed, and those who were newly elected should be allowed the charge of their table only. In July 1667, £50 annual salary was allowed to all the assistants, and the charge of their table. It was also enacted, that such as were chosen to the office and should refuse to serve, should be fined £5 for the use of the colony.

S. the daughter of R. K. was presented for slander, and found guilty; ordered to be punished severely by whipping.

1666.—This year, says Morton, the author of the New England Memorial, much of the wheat is destroyed by blasting and mildew, and it appears that this evil so frequently attended the attempts to cultivate that valuable grain on the sea-coast, that the inhabitants became discouraged and relinquished further trials; but the experienced agriculturists of the present day have ascertained that a particular kind of wheat may be profitably cultivated even on the sea borders of our fathers.

1668.—*October.* Price of produce was regulated as follows, in payment of minister's salary. Wheat 4*s.* 6*d.*; barley four shillings; rye, 3*s.* 6*d.*, corn three shillings; peas three shillings; malt four shillings; butter sixpence. Qualifications of townsmen regulated this year a second time.*

Timothy Hatherly, the founder of Scituate, died there this year. Mr. Hatherly was an eminent English merchant, and had been one of the most zealous of the adventurers in forwarding the colony. He came over in the Ann in 1623, as already mentioned, and returned home; came over again in 1632, and settled at Scituate, of which place he may be considered the founder. He was elected an assistant in 1636, and was continued in that office by successive elections until 1658. He was the treasurer of the colony, and sometimes a commissioner of the united colonies. Mr. Hatherly was a gentleman of great intelligence and piety, and extremely useful in all the transactions of the colony.

A. H. for making a proposal of marriage to E. P. and prosecuting the same contrary to her parents' liking

* For many particulars relative to the affairs of this town, I am indebted to Notes on Plymouth, published in the Historical Collections, vol. iii. second series, believed to be from the accurate pen of the late Samuel Davis, Esq.

and without their consent, and directly contrary to their mind and will, was sentenced to pay a fine of five pounds and find securities for good behavior, and desist the use of any means to obtain or retain her affections. The bond A. H. acknowledgeth to owe the king £50, J. D. £25, T. W. £25. The condition that whereas the said A. H. hath disorderly and unrighteously endeavored to obtain the affections of Miss E. P. against the mind and will of her parents, if therefore the said A. H. shall for the future refrain and desist the use of any means to obtain or retain her affections as aforesaid, and appear at court the first Tuesday of July next, and be of good behavior, &c. Released July 3d, 1667. A. H. did solemnly and seriously engage before the court that he will wholly desist, and never apply himself for future as formerly he hath done to Miss E. P. in reference unto marriage. July, 1667.

1668.—Twenty pounds were allowed by the colony towards printing the New England Memorial, and it was recommended to the towns to make a free and voluntary contribution towards it. The treasurer was directed to have it printed, and five pounds more were added. The next year the court ordered the treasurer to make good a barrel of beef to Mr. Green, the printer, at Cambridge, to satisfy what is behind for printing the New England Memorial, which is something more than is due, but the court is willing to allow it, as he complains of a hard bargain.

On the eighth of December, 1669, died Captain Thomas Southworth, one of the assistants, at the age of fifty-three. He attracted the attention and respect of the people very early, and was selected to succeed Mr. Brewster in his office of ruling elder; but governor Bradford deeming him to be well adapted to civil office, the design was abandoned, and Mr. Cushman was elected.

Mr. Southworth was elected an assistant in 1652, and continued in the government, with but few inter-

ruptions, until his death. He was one of the commissioners of the united colonies in 1659, and three years after; again in 1664 he was appointed governor of the colonies' territory on the Kennebec river, in Maine. He was a man eminent for the soundness of his mind and the piety of his heart. It has been noticed, page 116, that governor Bradford married for his second wife Mrs. Alice Southworth, who came over with her two sons, Constant and Thomas. Thomas married his cousin Elizabeth Reyner, a daughter of the Rev. John Reyner, the minister of Plymouth. His only child, Eliza, married Joseph Howland, a son of John Howland, one of the pilgrims of the Mayflower.

Constant Southworth was admitted a freeman in 1637, and in the same year married a daughter of Mr. Collier. His name is on the list of volunteers to go against the Pequots, in 1637. He was elected deputy for Duxbury in 1649, and in several other years; was colony treasurer from 1659 to 1678, and often one of the assistants. In the early part of Philip's war he was commissary general, and accompanied the army. The famous partizan officer, Benjamin Church, married his daughter Alice, and two of his sons frequently accompanied Church in his expeditions. He died in 1687, leaving three sons, Edward, Nathaniel, and William; three married daughters and two unmarried.

1669.—E. D. of Eastham, for slandering and belying his neighbors, fined twenty shillings, and reserved for future censure to a further trial of his future conversation.

1670.—J. C. for travelling on Sunday, and W. H. for conveying wood on Sunday, fined ten shillings each. N. S. for telling several lies to the damage of the colony, fined £5, or to be whipped. H. R. for abusing her husband, sentenced to be publicly whipped at the post: at the earnest entreaty of herself and others, and promising amendment, it was suspended; but if at

any other time she be taken in the like fault, it is to be executed.

1671.—John Prince and Nathaniel Bosworth, of Hull, petition the general court of Plymouth for liberty to fish at Cape Cod for mackerel, they having discovered a method of fishing with nets by moonlight. This year the code of laws for the colony was again revised, and the next year printed with this title: 'The book of the general laws of the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Printed by Samuel Green of Cambridge.'*

John Barnes was standing at his barn door stroking his bull, when the animal turned suddenly and thrust his horn into his thigh, making a wound eight inches long, from which he languished about thirty-two hours, and then died. From him descended the family of Barnes, in this town.

1672.—John Howland, one of the pilgrims of the Mayflower, died February 22d, at the age of eighty, and was honorably interred at Plymouth. Mr. Howland was an assistant in the government as early as 1633, and several years after. He left several daughters and four sons, viz. John, who settled at Barnstable, from whom descended the Rev. John Howland, late minister of Carver; Joseph settled at Plymouth; Isaac at Middleborough; and Jabez, after the conquest of Mount Hope, at Bristol, Rhode Island.

Liberty was granted George Bonham to erect a fulling mill on the town brook. This is the earliest date of any works on this stream other than grist-mills, of which two had been erected before, about 1631 and 1632.

Townsmen allowed to make ten barrels of tar annually.

* 'Governor Hutchinson, with unaccountable carelessness, has asserted, (vol. ii. 463) that they never established any distinct code or body of laws; grounding his assertion on a passage in Hubbard's MS. History, which implies no such thing.'—*Belknap.*

1673.—On the 8th of April died governor Thomas Prince, in the seventy-third year of his age. Mr. Prince arrived at Plymouth in 1621. He was then about twenty-one years old. In 1624 he married Patience, the daughter of elder Brewster. In 1634 he was chosen governor. The next year, being a widower, he married Mary, the daughter of Mr. William Collier. About this time it is presumed he removed to Duxbury, where Mr. Collier resided. His residence at Plymouth is indicated by a reference in the records to his lot on 'High Street.' In 1638, Mr. Prince again served in the office of governor. Before he was again elected in 1657 he had removed to Eastham. The law required the governor to reside at Plymouth, but there was dispensation in his favor until 1665, when he removed to Plymouth, and took possession of a place provided for him by the government, which he occupied until his death. It was more than a mile from the centre of the town on the road towards Boston, and was called *Plain Dealing*. This place was well known as the Lothrop farm, and is now in the occupancy of Isaac L. Hedge, Esq.

The governor's salary was at the time established at £50 per annum, and it was stipulated that he should receive that sum annually, so long as he should be governor of the colony. The administration of governor Prince was inauspicious and perplexing. Many 'uncomfortable jars' and unhappy animosities prevailed, in consequence of the harsh measures which were pursued against sectaries, especially against the Quakers. The governor had also to encounter many difficulties with the Indians. But, amidst these various perplexities, the government appears to have pursued a firm and steady course in promotion of the substantial interests of their constituents; and if, says Judge Davis, we except the lamented departure in some instances, from a just and prudent toleration on religious topics, a critical and candid examination of governor

Prince's conduct during the sixteen successive years of his magistracy, will, it is believed, find little to reprehend and much to approve. He is particularly to be applauded for his solicitous attention to the establishment of schools in the colony, of a higher grade than had before existed. Governor Prince was often employed in other public services of importance. He was of the council of war, treasurer of the colony at one time, and often a Commissioner of the United Colonies. His integrity was proverbial, and his industry, energy, and sound judgment, rendered him a very useful instrument in conducting the affairs of the rising colony, and would, we think, says Judge Davis, have made him a respectable character in a far more considerable community.

Among the good deeds of governor Prince, we should not omit to mention his exertions for a fixed and competent support of an able and learned ministry. In many of the scattered settlements, a disposition prevailed to neglect this important branch of public instruction, or to employ incompetent lay exhorters, practices which he uniformly discountenanced.

Governor Prince left seven daughters, all of whom were married before his decease. His son, Thomas, went to England, where he married, and died young.

The Plymouth church records, in expressing Mr. Prince's character and his amiable and pleasant conversation, depart from their usual course, by an indication of his personal appearance, from which it may be supposed that it was peculiarly dignified and striking. 'He was excellently qualified for the office of governor. He had a countenance full of majesty, and therein, as well as otherwise, was a terror to evil-doers.' The foregoing is an abstract from the ample memoir by Judge Davis, in the Memorial.

At the court in June of this year, Josias Winslow, the eldest son of the late governor Edward Winslow, was elected as the successor of governor Prince. John Alden remained the first assistant.

1675. *February.*—A fortification was ordered to be erected on Fort Hill, an hundred feet square, with palisadoes ten and a half feet high; a watch-house to be erected, and three pieces of ordnance planted within it; on which occasion, all the males of sixteen years and upwards assisted in its erection. 'Of this fort,' says the writer in Historical Collections, vol. iii. 'from the description in the records, and the minute dimensions given of all its parts and appendages, we made a drawing a few years since.

This was the memorable period of Philip's war, and the reader will remark, that it was in the depth of winter when these preparations were necessary against an insidious foe. Frequently, doubtless, the women and children took shelter within these palisadoes, whose location and circuit we are able to delineate with exactness. The fort was built by Nathaniel Southworth.' When the times no longer required defence against the Indians, the fort was demolished, and the huge timber sold to Mr. William Harlow, who converted it into a dwelling-house; but it was constructed in a very uncouth form, and was glazed with diamond-glass, set in lead. It stood in a lot near the house belonging to the heirs of the late John Patey, and was not taken down till about fifteen years ago. The cannon employed in the fort were removed to Cole's Hill, for the defence of the town against the assaults of a civilized and kindred people during the revolutionary war. After that event, the cannon were sold as refuse iron, and wrought up in a forge at Bridgewater. The antiquarian will regret, that these memorials of ancient warfare, these protectors of our ancestors when in infancy, were not transmitted to later generations.

In the year 1674, an Indian named John Sausaman, left the service of King Philip, and informed the government of the Sachem's hostile intention against the English. Governor Prince, advising with his council,

resolved to send for Philip to inquire into the truth of the allegation. Before this could be accomplished, Sausaman was murdered, near Assawainset pond, in Middleborough. His body being found concealed under the ice, Tobias, one of Philip's counsellors, and his son, with another Indian, were apprehended, on suspicion of being the murderers. They were convicted at Plymouth, at a court holden in June, 1675, and executed. Six 'grave Indians,' were put upon the jury, in the trial of the culprits. This affair precipitated the hostilities, which, it appeared Philip had meditated, but for which he was not, at that time, fully prepared.

This year William Macumber, for calling on an Indian for a debt on Sunday, and a man for fighting on Sunday, were fined forty shillings each, or to be publicly whipped.

It was ordered by the court this year that during the time of public danger, every one that comes to meeting on the Lord's day, bring his arms with him, with at least five charges of powder and shot, under a penalty of two shillings for every default. That whosoever shall shoot off a gun on any unnecessary occasion, or at any game, except at an Indian or a wolf, shall forfeit five shillings for every such shot, until further liberty shall be given.—*Philip's War.* During the years 1675 and 1676 a sanguinary war was maintained with King Philip, who resided at Mount Hope, in the town of Bristol, Rhode Island. Philip was the youngest son of Massasoit, and sachem of the Wampanoags, and a bold and resolute warrior. Having formed alliances with numerous tribes of savages, he assembled such a formidable force that all New England was menaced with destruction. In every town houses were garrisoned for the security of families, yet tragical scenes kept the inhabitants in constant alarm. Dwelling houses, although garrisoned, consumed, and men, women and children butchered by savage hands. An armed force

among the colonists became indispensable, and troops were raised in the following proportions. Massachusetts colony 527. Plymouth 158. Connecticut 315. General Josiah Winslow was appointed commander-in-chief, and James Cudworth commanded the Plymouth forces. On the 19th of December, 1675, the English advanced upon the enemy, and attacked them in their strong hold. They had constructed a strong fort with logs and trees in the centre of a large swamp, in which was a piece of high ground of several acres. Here were their wigwams, containing their families and provisions. In this dismal place a battle of three hours was fought with unprecedented ferocity and obstinacy. Had the English been defeated, not a man would have escaped from the swamp alive; but a kind Providence so ordered it that the English were victorious. It was computed that 700 fighting Indians were slain; among them were twenty-five chiefs, and three hundred more it is said died of their wounds. About six hundred wigwams were consumed, in which perished a considerable number of old men, women and children. Of the English, six captains and eighty men were killed or mortally wounded, and one hundred and fifty others were wounded.

On the 12th of March, 1676, the garrison house of Mr. Clark, at Eel river, in this town, was attacked by a party of Indians on the Sabbath, when most of the men were gone to meeting, and eleven persons were killed and the house consumed. The house, with two or three others, had been fortified for the security of families in that neighborhood. The house stood on the west side of the road, near the spot where the dwelling-house of the Rev. Mr. Witmore has recently been erected. Among the sufferers in this tragedy, was a boy who received several tomahawk wounds on the skull, and was left for dead, but he recovered, and afterwards wore a plate of silver over the wound, from which he was distinguished by the name of *silver-head Tom* during life.

1676. May 11th the Indians made an attack on a settlement in that part of Plymouth which is now Halifax: the inhabitants being suddenly alarmed, fled with their families; but the savages burnt eleven houses and five barns; and two days after seven houses and two barns. The wife of King Philip, and his son about nine years old had been taken and brought to Plymouth, but Philip, although he had lost the most of his warriors and was almost alone, had the address for a long time to elude the vigilance of his pursuers. At length, finding himself harassed to the last extremity, in July 1676, he resorted to a swamp near Mount Hope for concealment. On the 12th of August Captain Church approached with a party of volunteers, surrounded the swamp on all sides, and so disposed of themselves as to render his escape impossible. Finding himself closely pressed on one side the swamp, he attempted to escape from the opposite, where a soldier and an Indian named Alderman were posted; on his appearance the soldier attempted to fire, but his gun snapped without effect. Alderman then fired and shot Philip through the heart. Thus fell this mighty warrior, and his head was brought to Plymouth in triumph.* Phil-

* There is in Historical Society's Collections, vol. iv. second series, an anecdote respecting the lock of the gun with which King Philip was killed, as follows:

The late Isaac Lothrop of Plymouth, obtained the lock of Sylvanus Cook, late of Kingston. Sylvanus was great grandson of Caleb Cook, and Caleb was the soldier placed with an Indian by Col. Church to watch, and if possible, kill King Philip. Cook, as the historian relates, snapped his gun, but it missed fire. He then bade the Indian fire, and he instantly shot him through the heart. The tradition is, that Cook, having a strong desire to possess the gun with which Philip was killed, prevailed on the Indian to exchange guns with him; and the fortunate gun has been preserved in the family of the Cooks to the present time. When the great grandson consented that Mr. Lothrop should take the lock, he retained the other parts as memorials of the interesting event. The gun lock was by Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop, late of this town, presented to Rev. John Lothrop of Boston, and by him to the Historical Society.

ip was unquestionably a great warrior and a mighty chief, in whom rested the confidence and the hope of the confederated tribes. The noble deeds which he performed in 1676 in the defence of his unfortunate people, would not suffer in comparison with those of the renowned heroes, in our own cause in 1776, to whom has justly been awarded a large share of honor and fame. From the death of Philip may be dated the extinction of his tribe, and eventually the aboriginal race in New England. The termination of this horrid Indian war was an event of the utmost importance to the colonies, as during its continuance of about two years, they suffered a loss of about six hundred men in the flower of their strength, twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed, and six hundred dwelling houses consumed.

It is a consoling fact, says Dr. Holmes' Annals, that our ancestors purchased of the natives their land for an equivalent consideration, as appears by a letter from the pious governor Winslow, dated at Marshfield, May 1st, 1676, as follows: 'I think I can clearly say, that before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony but what was fairly obtained by honest purchase of the Indian proprietors. We first made a law that none should purchase or receive of gift any land of the Indians, without the knowledge of our court. And lest they should be straitened, we ordered that Mount Hope, Pocasset, and several other necks of the best land in the colony, because most suitable and convenient for them, should never be bought out of their hands.' During the war with Philip, an Englishman deserted to the Narragansets, and carried with him a quantity of powder and joined the Indians in battle against the English. He was captured, and on trial confessed his guilt, and was condemned to be hanged and quartered, which was soon put into execution.

In a review of the treatment of the Indian prisoners

by the colonists, the inquiry naturally arises to what extent the infliction of capital punishment could be considered as justifiable and proper. Although the position is admissible, that a conquered foe should be rendered incapable of committing further enormities, yet retaliation should be tempered with mercy, and human lives should be sacrificed no further than the public safety demands. Our chief source of intelligence relative to the disposition of the Indian prisoners is from the researches of Judge Davis, as published in his Appendix to Morton's Memorial. From this, it appears that a majority of these unfortunate people were condemned to be sold in perpetual slavery; but a number of guilty natives were condemned to suffer death. These victims, however, were selected from among the most notorious murderers of defenceless families and individuals. Those fiends who assaulted the house of Mr. Clark, in Plymouth, were justly excepted from mercy or quarter. Eleven of these culprits were captured in July, 1676, four of whom were executed at Plymouth. It is related by the accurate author above quoted, that Captain Church captured Anawon, and by some encouraging intimations, induced Tispiquin to surrender himself. It would seem that Captain Church considered himself responsible for the lives of those Indians; but to his grief, Anawon, although advanced in years, and who had been a chief and a counsellor in the time of Massasoit, was put to death. Tispiquin was believed by the natives to be invulnerable to bullets. Church, therefore, intimated that his life should be spared, and that he would employ him in his service. 'He came in,' says Mr. Hubbard, 'upon hopes of being made a captain under Church, but upon trial (which was the condition on which his being promised a captain's place did depend) he was found penetrable by the English guns, for he fell down upon the first shot, and thereby received the just reward of his former wickedness.' Respecting this extraordinary transaction, so irrecon-

cileable with the laws of honor and probity, Judge Davis makes the following just remarks :—'This pitiful evasion, it may be hoped, belongs wholly to the historian; we are unwilling to believe that the authorities of the country would have resorted to such unworthy equivocation.' But an interesting inquiry is, What was the destined fate of Philip's son? It appears that government were not prepared to dispose of this innocent youth without the opinion and advice of learned divines. The Rev. Mr. Cotton, of Plymouth, and the Rev. Mr. Arnold, of Marshfield, rendered their united opinion to the following purport :—'They humbly conceive, on serious consideration, that the children of notorious traitors, rebels, and murderers, especially of such as have been principal leaders and actors in such horrid villanies, and that against a whole nation, yea, the whole Israel of God, may be involved in the guilt of their parents, and may, *salva republica*, be adjudged to death, as to us seems evident by the scripture instances of *Saul*, *Achan*, *Haman*, the children of whom were cut off by the sword of justice for the transgressions of their parents, although, concerning some of those children, it be manifest that they were not capable of being co-actors therein.'

The opinion of the Rev. Increase Mather, of Boston, in a letter to Mr. Cotton, October 30th, 1676: 'If it had not been out of my mind when I was writing, I should have said something about Philip's son. It is necessary that some effectual course should be taken about him. He makes me think of Hadad, who was but a little child when his father, (the chief sachem of the Edomites) was killed by Joab; and had not others fled away with him, I am apt to think that David would have taken a course, that Hadad should never have proved a scourge to the next generation.' But the Rev. James Keith, of Bridgewater interposed as a more auspicious pleader in the cause of humanity. In a letter to Mr. Cotton, he says, 'I long to hear what be-

comes of Philip's wife and son. I know there is some difficulty in that Psalm, cxxxvii. 8, 9, though I think it may be considered, whether there be not some specialities, and somewhat extraordinary in it. That law, (Deut. xxiv. 16,) compared with the commended example of Amaziah, 2 Chron. xxv. 4, doth sway much with me, in the case under consideration. I hope God will direct those whom it doth concern to a good issue. Let us join our prayers at the throne of grace, with all our might, that the Lord would so dispose of all public motions and affairs, that his Jerusalem, in this wilderness, may be the habitation of justice and the mountain of holiness, that so it may be, also, a quiet habitation, a tabernacle that shall not be taken down.' Mr. Keith was happy in his reference to 2 Chron. 'But he slew not their children, but did as it is written in the law in the book of Moses,' &c. It is consoling to our feelings to know, that in the issue of this singular discussion, the life of the innocent boy was spared, although that life was for a price doomed to slavery. —*Judge Davis's edit. Memorial.*

We readily coincide with Judge Davis in the following sentiment, but must except the instance of the unfortunate French Dauphin, in 1793:—'The question thus seriously agitated would not, in modern times, occur in any nation in Christendom. Principles of public law, sentiments of humanity, the mild influence of the Gospel, in preference to a recurrence to the Jewish dispensation, so much regarded by our ancestors in their deliberations and decisions, would forbid the thought of inflicting punishment on children for the offences of a parent.'—*Memoir, Appendix*, p. 455.

1677.—The general court, aware that it is upon the pastoral office that particular churches must depend for religious instruction and edification, ordered that proper provision should be made for the support of public worship; and in 1678 it was enacted, that in each town and village within the jurisdiction, there should be a

house of worship erected. The provision made in the foregoing law is believed to have been the first where coercive collection of taxes, for the maintenance of ministers, was authorized. Orders had been passed which recommended to the people to provide a liberal support for their pastors, but no authority had been given to enforce its coercive payment. In the same year provision was made also for the support of public schools.

In November of this year, two more courts were authorized to be holden by the selectmen of towns, in December and May. The laws respecting the sales of strong liquors and wines were renewed, and the penalties increased, and the sale was forbidden to all except strangers, and not allowed to them without a license.

1678.—The court, conceiving that the public safety required that all persons in the government should abide and continue in each town respectively, ordered that no one should depart on the penalty of forfeiting his whole personal estate, except by allowance of the governor, or two magistrates ; and it shall be lawful to seize their persons and estates, boats, and carts, that shall be found employed in carrying them away.

I cite from the Old Colony Record Book of Court Orders, the following proceeding :—' This may certify, that certain Indians near Sandwich, whose names are Canootus and Symon and Joell, being apprehended on their confession, convicted of feloniously breaking open a house and stealing from a chest of Zechariah Allen, of Sandwich, twenty-five pounds in money, they having lost or embezzled said money, and no other way appearing how he should be satisfied for his loss, the colony have sentenced the above named Indians to be perpetual slaves, and empower said Allen to make sale of them in New England, or elsewhere, as his lawful slaves for the term of their lives.'

Edward Gray hired Clark's Island for seven years, at £3 9*s.* per annum, to keep 16 neat cattle free of rate,

townsmen to have liberty to bring wood for building, fencing and firing. Agawam lands were leased for seven years.

Josiah Winslow, governor of Plymouth Colony died December 18th, 1680, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was the son of governor Edward Winslow, born at Marshfield, 1629, and the first governor born in New England. He enjoyed the benefit of his father's care and attention in his early education, and his whole life evidenced that he copied that eminent man's bright example of steady virtue, public spirit, and disinterested energetic action.

His discretion as a civil magistrate, and his bravery as a military commander, procured him great respect, and the fullest confidence of the people. One of the first steps in his administration, was to correct a rash proceeding that had made unfavorable impressions on the minds of many of the best men in the colony. Mr. Cudworth was not only left out of the magistracy, as has been before observed, on account of his opposition to the proceedings against the quakers, but his letter to Mr. Brown, published in England, had given such offence, that he was disfranchised, and deprived of his military command in Scituate. A like severity, and on similar grounds, had been exercised in regard to Isaac Robinson, son of Rev. John Robinson. His name was stricken off the list of freemen. Soon after Mr. Winslow's election, both these gentlemen were restored to their former places, and the country had the benefit of Mr. Cudworth's valuable services, in many important trusts in the military and in the civil department. Governor Winslow was eminently serviceable in Philip's war, and his name is mentioned with honor in various histories of that period. In a letter to governor Leveret, he thus expresses himself:—'Some resolute attempt for Philip's surprisal must be put in execution. Would to God I was with our men, so as I might not, in the mean time, be missed at home. I should hope, by the blessing of God, to give a good account of him in a short time.'

July 26th, 1675—'My person, I hear, has been much threatened. I have about twenty men at my house; have sent away my wife and children to Salem, that I may be less encumbered; have flankered my house, and resolve to maintain it so long as a man will stand by me.' His health, habitually feeble, was much impaired by the fatigues of the Narraganset expedition. In February, 1676, the commissioners of the United Colonies observed, that 'through indisposition of body, he is disenabled from going forth again.' And, therefore, made provision, that the commander-in-chief of the forces of the colony, where the seat of war should happen to be, should be 'chief over the whole.' One hundred pounds was allowed by the commissioners for his services, and a grant, on the same ground, was made to him by Plymouth colony. His stated salary, as governor, was fifty pounds per annum. The expenses of his funeral, forty pounds, were directed to be paid from the public treasury, 'as a testimony of the colony's endeared love and affection to him.* *Plymouth Record.* His wife was Penelope, a daughter of Herbert Pelham, Esq. a gentleman of distinction, who took an early interest in the settlement of New England, and who came to Boston in 1637, but did not remain long in the country. Governor Winslow was introduced into public life very early, and in 1643, as soon as he was eligible, was chosen a deputy to the court from Marshfield, and several times afterwards.

In 1657, soon after the death of his father, he was chosen an assistant, and in 1659, the major, or chief military commander of the colony.

He was, for many years, a commissioner of the confederated colonies, and in 1673, after the death of governor Prince, he was chosen his successor. In his

* Two elegies were written on the death of governor Josiah Winslow; one by Rev. Mr. Witherell, of Scituate, the other by Rev. Mr. Wiswall, of Duxbury. The former is published in Rev. Mr. Dean's history of Scituate.

native colony, governor Winslow stood on the highest ground in society. 'Civic honors awaited him in his earliest youth; he reached every elevation which could be attained; and there was nothing left for ambition to covet, because all had been gained. He lived on his ample paternal domain, and his hospitality was not only generous, but magnificent. In addition to his military and civic distinctions, he had acquired that of being the most accomplished gentleman, and the most delightful companion, in the colony, and the attractions of the festive and social board at Careswell were not a little heightened by the charms of his beautiful wife.' 'Mild and tolerant himself,' continues Mr. Baylies, 'he witnessed with regret the movements of that fierce spirit which would not tolerate the liberality, and was blind to the wisdom of Cudworth and Brown; and he had the address to restore them to the confidence of the people, at a period when the curse of the age, the spirit of religious bigotry, was maddened by opposition and armed with power. Persevering, frank, bold, and resolute, he encountered the hazard of popular displeasure with the same fearlessness as he did the ambushes and bullets of the savages.'

His only son, the Hon. *Isaac Winslow*, was eminently distinguished, having sustained the chief places of power and honor in the colony, as chief commander of the military under the governor, and for several years Chief Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Judge of Probate of Wills, and one of his Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts Bay for more than twenty years, and for several years President of that body. This gentleman possessed a true English spirit, much given to hospitality, and was universally beloved. He died at his seat at Marshfield, December 1738,* in the 68th year of his

* He was buried on the 18th of December. The bearers were Col. Thaxter, Col. Lathrop, N. Thomas, N. Sever, Kenelm Winslow, Esq. and J—— ———.

age. He lived to see both of his surviving sons, John and Edward, take their turns as clerks of the same courts.

His eldest son, a young gentleman of great promise, by the name of Josiah, engaged in military service, received a captain's commission, and was killed in battle, with thirteen of his company, after a most gallant resistance against a superior force of French and Indians in 1724. General *John Winslow*, the eldest of the surviving sons of Isaac, was a distinguished and successful commander. In 1740, he commanded a company in the expedition against Cuba, and afterwards rose to the rank of Major-general in the British service.* In 1755, an expedition against Nova Scotia was undertaken by the British government, of which General Monckton was commander-in-chief, and General (then Colonel) John Winslow, second in command. So great was the popularity of Colonel Winslow, that in an incredible short time, he raised for this expedition two thousand men. The two French forts were captured, with scarcely any loss on the part of the conquerors, and

* We have now in the library of the Pilgrim Society three commissions to John Winslow, Esq.

1. Commission by Gov. Shirly, authorising him to hold courts-martial while on the expedition to Crown Point, 1755.

2. Commission by Gov. Hardy, of New York, to be General and commander-in-chief of the Provincial troops, July, 1756.

3. By Gov. Pownal, to be Major-general in the king's service, 1757.

General Winslow was remarkable for his skill in horsemanship. He imported a valuable horse from England, and it was among his greatest delights to be mounted on his favorite animal. On a certain occasion, a number of gentlemen of this town formed a party with Gen. Winslow, for a pleasurable excursion to Saquish, in Plymouth harbor, and to return to dine in town. While there, Winslow fell asleep; the other gentlemen silently withdrew, and pursued their journey. When he awoke and found himself deserted, he mounted, and daringly plunging his steed into the channel, swam him across, and landed on Plymouth beach, a distance estimated at something more than half a mile, from whence he rode into town, making the whole distance but six miles, while his companions were riding fourteen miles. On their arrival, they were astounded to find the General seated at the tavern, prepared to greet them with a bowl of punch.

the whole Province completely reduced, chiefly through the enterprize and good conduct of Colonel Winslow: to him too was entrusted the difficult and delicate task of removing the French neutrals. In 1756, he commanded at Fort William Henry, on Lake George. He was also a counsellor of the Province. He died at Marshfield in 1774, at the age of 73.

General John Winslow resided for several years in Plymouth: he owned the house which now belongs to the heirs of Hon. James Warren, making the south-west corner of North street.

The fact is well understood that many of this ancient family had been educated from infancy under the beguiling influence and favor of the Royal government. At the commencement, and during the whole progress of the revolutionary struggle, therefore, it was found difficult to espouse a cause so totally incompatible with their sense of duty to their sovereign, and the family were subjected to much obloquy and unhappiness by their faithful adherence to the royal cause. General John Winslow left two sons, Pelham* and Isaac. Pelham, from principle was in the Royal interest, and being obnoxious to popular resentment, found it expedient to resort to the British for protection, and he died on Long Island in the year 1776. Isaac was loyal also, but in the medical profession, and resided on the paternal estate at Marshfield, where he died in 1819, aged 81 years.

* Pelham married the daughter of Capt. Cornelius White, of this town, whom he left with two daughters; the elder married the late Henry Warren, Esq. and the younger married Nathan Hayward, Esq. Isaac Winslow, the physician, married the daughter of the elder Dr. Stockbridge, of Scituate. His children were John, an eminent lawyer, who died at Natches, 1820, where he had removed on account of his health. The daughters are three, the wife of Kilborn Whitman, Esq., the widow of Thomas Dingley, Esq., and the wife of Ebenezer Clapp, Esq. John left two sons, Pelham and Isaac, who are living in Boston; the only males, surviving in this country of the name of Winslow, descendants from the first governor Winslow. John left also three daughters.

Edward, the younger brother of General John Winslow, was an accomplished scholar and a gentleman of fine taste. He resided in Plymouth, was clerk of the court, and collector of the port. He was one of the most active members of the Old Colony Club, and his address on the 22d December, 1770, was the first ever delivered on that occasion. A few years prior to the revolutionary war, this gentleman erected a dwelling house in North street in this town, in a style of elegance far superior to any one previously erected in the Old Colony, and even at this present day is admired as a fine model of architecture. Mr. Winslow, being a royalist, removed at the commencement of the troubles to New Brunswick, where his posterity have acquired, and are still in the enjoyment of high official distinctions. In consequence of his removal, he forfeited his estate in his native country, but every branch of his family, male and female, was by the British government amply provided for during the remainder of their lives. A writer in the Boston Gazette, November 1826,* having just visited the seat of the Winslow family, speaking of the family portraits, 'all of which we hope may at no distant day be copied to adorn the Pilgrims Hall, in Plymouth; that of Josiah Winslow is evidently by the hand of a master, and his beautiful bride makes one of the group. She appears about twenty, and her costume is more modern than is given to other females of that period. Her head-dress is of great simplicity, the hair parted on the top, and falling in ringlets on each side of her temples and neck; the countenance bespeaks intelligence and gentleness.'

There are yet in existence some ancient relics belonging to the Winslow family. A sitting chair which was screwed to the floor of the Mayflower's cabin, for the convenience of a lady: it is known to have been in the possession of Penelope Winslow, who married

* Alden Bradford, Esq.

James Warren, grandfather of our late General James Warren. This chair is now in the possession of Miss Hannah White, a direct descendant from Peregrine White. A watch-purse, composed of small beads, which was made by Penelope Pelham, while on her voyage to America. She married governor Winslow. A curious ring, which contains the hair of governor Josiah Winslow; and a pearl spoon. These last articles are in possession of Mrs. Hayward, who was a Winslow.

The coats of arms of the Winslows, Paddys, Whites and Howlands, were procured by General Winslow from the herald's office when in London, and are now in the family.

1681.—Thomas Hinckly, of Barnstable, succeeded Josiah Winslow in the office of governor; and was re-elected to that office for several years. Military companies were required to fill vacancies with able officers, and the soldiers were to be provided with swords and cutlasses. The selectmen were required to be under oath, and the secretary was to furnish them a book containing all the orders of court. It was also ordered, that in every town of the jurisdiction, three men should be chosen and joined with the commissioned officers to be the town council. Elder Faunce was one of three members of this board, whose duty seems to have been, to adjust and make taxes accruing in military affairs.

1682.—Agawam land was sold, to build a meeting-house; a free passage for the alewives up the brook from Buzzard's Bay reserved to the town, and the jurisdiction of the territory. This meeting-house was the second built on the same lot in the town square. The town's part of the money, which Mount Hope land sold for, went in part for this appropriation.

A person was appointed by the town to grant tickets, according to law in such cases provided, to such persons as are necessitated to travel on the Lord's day.

The people were required to refrain from labor and recreation on fast and thanksgiving days, and from travelling on the sabbath and on lecture days. Innkeepers were required to clear their houses of all persons able to go to meeting, except strangers.

Severe laws were passed in 1677 and in 1682, regulating the lives and conduct of the Indians, requiring them to live orderly, soberly and diligently. In each town where Indians live, one able, discreet man was to be appointed by the court of assistants to take oversight and government of the Indians in said town, and to take notice of all breaches of the laws. In each town where Indians reside, every tenth Indian shall be chosen by the court of assistants annually, as an overseer, who shall take particular inspection and oversight of his nine men, and present their faults to the proper authority.

It was also ordered, that the overseers and tithingmen should appoint Indian constables annually, who shall attend their courts, and the constables shall obey all the warrants of the overseers on such penalty as the court of assistants shall inflict. The Indians were subject to all capital and criminal laws made for the English in the colony. For drunkenness, for the first fault to pay a fine of five shillings, or be whipped; for the second, ten shillings, or be whipped.

Charles Stockbridge was employed by the town to build a grist-mill this year, now called the upper mill, being then the second on the same stream.

1683.—The court ordered that the selectmen in each town take care that the poor in their respective townships be provided for at the charge of the town.

A bridge over Eel river, and one over Jones' river ordered to be built.

1684.—The king's highways were laid out through the township.

1685.—This is the date of the colony of Plymouth being divided into three counties, Plymouth, Barn-

stable, and Bristol, and in the same year 'their body of laws was revised and published. It is a small but venerable volume, and contains many marks of the wisdom and piety of the framers.' There were at that time in the colony, 1439 praying Indians, besides boys and girls under twelve years of age, who were supposed to be more than three times that number.

The puritans did not take the name of Christians for the purpose of conquest or gain; it was among their first concerns to conciliate the Indians, and thus prepare the way for their conversion to the christian faith, and great efforts were made for their religious instruction. Judge Davis, in his Appendix to the Memorial, observes, that the employment of the more intelligent and energetic Indians as rulers was particularly grateful to them. He had often heard of amusing anecdotes of the Indian rulers. The following warrant is recollected, which was issued by one of those magistrates, directed to an Indian constable, and will not suffer in comparison with our more verbose forms.

'I, Hihoudi, you Peter Waterman, Jeremy Wicket, quick you take him, fast you hold him, straight you bring him before me, Hihoudi.'

On the 28th of June, died Mr. Nathaniel Morton, secretary of the colony court, and author of New England's Memorial.

Nathaniel Morton was the son of Mr. George Morton, who came to Plymouth, with his family, in July, 1623. He had been an inhabitant of the same village with governor Bradford, in the north of England, and married the governor's sister. He died in June, 1624, leaving a widow and four children, Nathaniel, John, Patience, and Ephraim. John, the second son, was an early settler in Middleborough. From him, it is believed, is descended Hon. Marcus Morton, now one of the Justices of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. Ephraim became a man of considerable distinction in the colony. He was, for many successive years, a member of the council of war, and, with John

Bradford, represented the town of Plymouth in the first general court holden at Boston after the union of the two colonies. From this branch is descended Perez Morton, Esq. Attorney General of Massachusetts. Patience Morton married John Faunce, and was the mother of Elder Thomas Faunce. Nathaniel, the eldest child, was twelve years old when his father died. He was admitted a freeman in 1635, and in the same year was married to Lydia Cooper. In 1673 his wife died. His second wife, who survived him, was Ann Templer, of Charlestown, a widow at the time of her marriage with Mr. Morton. He had eight children, (all by his first wife) two sons who died in childhood, and six daughters. All the daughters were married in his life time. Two of them, Mary and Elizabeth, died before their father. The death of Elizabeth, the wife of Nathaniel Bosworth, of Hull, and her *honorable burial* at Plymouth, are mentioned in the colony records. The reader is referred to the preface to the edition of the Memorial by Judge Davis for an interesting account of secretary Morton.

I have seen in the hands of Nathaniel M. Davis, Esq. an original deed executed by the four daughters, Remembrance, Lydia, Hannah and Joanna, and their husbands, Abraham Jackson, George Elliston, Isaac Cole, and Joseph Prince. The deed is dated April 6th, 1692. The granters describe themselves as the sons-in-law and daughters of the late Mr. Nathaniel Morton, and convey 'that tract of land our father lived on, as also the dwelling-house that our father lived in.' The description which follows includes the estate now owned and occupied by Deacon Thomas Atwood, near Hobbs-hole brook (Willingsly). The aforesaid Abraham Jackson was the ancestor of the numerous and respectable family of that name in Plymouth.

The four daughters of secretary Morton, above mentioned, made their marks for their names: a striking instance of the neglect of female education in those

days. It was at his residence by the side of Willingsly brook that secretary Morton wrote the New England Memorial, and the church records, and performed many useful labors for posterity. Here in the goodness of his heart, the venerable man contemplated the providence of God towards his exiled brethren, and offered his fervent devotions in behalf of the Leyden church.

It was evidently the earnest desire of Mr. Morton to leave a correct history of the New England colonies, for the benefit of future generations, and his station in life afforded him peculiar facilities for the undertaking. He was scrupulously faithful in recording all interesting events and occurrences of his own times, that New England might remember the 'day of her small things,' and that he might contribute his share of original materials for a true and full history. The work is written in a modest simplicity of style, and contains the annals of New England, but with a special reference to Plymouth colony, for the space of forty years. From his sense of religious duty he was induced to take a particular notice and make honorable mention, of those eminent christians who finished their course in his day.

The first edition of the Memorial was published in 1669. It was printed in Cambridge, by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, who received for that service a grant of twenty pounds from the colony, and afterwards a small additional gratuity. This work was recommended to public notice by too cotemporary worthies, who in after time have been celebrated as among the greatest divines of New England, Rev. John Higginson, of Salem, and Rev. Thomas Thacher, of Boston. The Memorial has been a source of resort for all succeeding writers on the same subject. Mr. Prince speaks of Morton's Memorial as the first source of his own information in compiling his invaluable annals. The work, it will be allowed, contains a

rich fund of interesting narrative, relative to the early events which ought to be remembered, and every page indicates a mind imbued with the true spirit of piety and benevolence. Although written in plain language, and the facts are unadorned, the solid good sense of the author, and his laudable attachment to all good men, and his love of country, are conspicuous throughout the whole.

From the records it appears, that Mr. Morton was secretary of the court from 1645 to 1685, the year of his death. He was also for many years town clerk, in which he was succeeded by his nephew, elder Faunce. Besides preparing the Memorial, he collected various papers of much use to the colony, and the present generation is greatly indebted to his industry, and his attention to manuscripts and dates, and to incidents which occurred in the colonies in the infancy of their existence. The Memorial passed through a second edition in 1721, to which is attached a supplement by Josiah Cotton, Esq. then register of deeds for the county of Plymouth, continuing the account from 1669, to the union of Plymouth colony with Massachusetts. In 1772, a third edition, copied from the second, was printed at Newport, and in 1826, a fourth edition was printed by Allen Danforth, at Plymouth. A fifth edition of this valuable work was published at Boston in 1826, to which are added numerous useful notes, and a copious and interesting appendix by Hon. Judge Davis.

1686.—Mr. Thomas Hinckley was re-elected governor, and William Bradford, deputy governor, from 1682, to the present year.

We have to notice a memorable event of this year. On the 29th of December, Sir Edmund Andros arrived at Boston, bringing with him an enlarged commission, which vested the government of all the colonies of New England in him as governor, and in a council, nominated by the crown; and in 1688, New York was included in the commission. From the commencement of

the year 1687, to the end of April 1689, he exercised a power over these colonies little short of despotic. During this period, the history of Plymouth, being blended with that of the other colonies, is of a general, rather than of an individual character. Governor Hinckley, whose office had been superseded by the appointment of Andros, petitioned the king for a redress of grievances; but the petition was totally neglected, and the colonists were smarting under the severity of arbitrary rule until April, 1689, when a rumor reached Boston that the Prince of Orange had landed in England. The smouldering fire burst forth at once, to the utter dismay of the agent of despotism. The people of Massachusetts, without waiting for a confirmation of the report, seized their arms, proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen of England, arrested the governor, and confined him at the Castle, (which they now called Castle William,) compelled him to resign, terminated the government, and restored their old governor, Simon Bradstreet, then at the age of eighty-seven, who was called to the chair, not by the forms of a regular election, but by acclamation. The people at Plymouth, actuated by the same spirit, imprisoned Nathaniel Clark, one of the creatures of Andros and one of his council, and issued the following:—

'*A Declaration of sundry inhabitants of Plymouth.* —Whereas, we have not only just grounds to suspect, but are well assured that Nathaniel Clark hath been a real enemy to the peace and prosperity of this people, and hath, by lying and false information to the late governor, caused much trouble and damage to this place, endeavored to deprive us of our lands, and exposed us to the unjust severity of persons ill affected to us, whereby a considerable part of our estates is unrighteously extorted from us, to the great prejudice of our families, and the loss of many necessary comforts, and he persisting, from time to time, in his malicious, forging, complaints against one or other of us, whereby

we are in continual hazard of many further great inconveniences and mischiefs. We do, therefore, seize upon his person, resolving to secure him for the hands of justice, to deal with him according to his demerit.'

The seizure of Clark, who was excessively odious for his meanness and rapacity, was the only act of violence committed in the Plymouth colony.

This year died at Duxbury, *John Alden*, one of the pilgrims of the Mayflower, and believed to have been, at the time of his death, the last surviving signer of the original compact of government, the last of the first exiled pilgrims. He had been, for many years, deeply engaged in the public concerns of the colony. An assistant as early as 1633, he was continued in that office, with but few interruptions, until the time of his death. He was born in England in 1597, and died at the age of eighty-nine. After the death of Captain Standish, he was for some time treasurer of the colony. He possessed much native talent, 'was decided, ardent, resolute, and persevering, indifferent to danger, a bold and hardy man, stern, austere, and unyielding, of exemplary piety and of incorruptible integrity, an iron-nerved puritan, who could hew down forests and live on crumbs. He hated innovations and changes, steadily walked in the ways of his youth, and adhered to the principles and habits of those whom he had been taught to honor. The uncertainty of his claim to the honor of being the first to leap on the Plymouth rock has been noticed, page 31, and the tradition respecting his good fortune in obtaining the hand of a lady, whom he was commissioned to solicit for his friend Captain Standish, in page 112.

John Alden married Priscilla Mullins, one of the female pilgrims, and from them are descended all who bear the name in the United States. His son, John, lived in Boston, and commanded the armed sloop of the Massachusetts, and is the John Alden who received unwarrantable and abusive treatment, at the time of

the Salem witchcraft.* Joseph lived in Bridgewater; David, at Duxbury, of which town he was often a deputy to the court. Jonathan occupied the paternal farm at Duxbury. A son of David Alden, whose name was Samuel, lived in Duxbury, and died at the age of ninety-three; he was the father of Colonel Ichabod Alden, of the revolutionary army, who was killed by the savages at Cherry Valley, in 1778. One of Jonathan's daughters married Mr. Bass, of Braintree. One married William Peabody, one of the earliest settlers of Duxbury, a man much employed in public affairs, and of much respectability. One married Josiah, a son of the warrior, Miles Standish. The other mar-

* Captain John Alden, of Boston, was sent for by the magistrates of Salem, upon the accusation of several poor, distracted, or possessed creatures, or witches. On his examination, these wretches began their juggling tricks, falling down, crying out, and staring in the faces of people in an impudent manner. The magistrates demanded of them several times who it was of all the people in the room that hurt them; one of the accusers pointed several times to one Captain Hill, but said nothing, till a man standing behind her to hold her up, stooped down to her ear, when she immediately cried out, Alden, Alden afflicted her. Being asked if she had ever seen Alden, she answered no; but she said the man told her so. Alden was then committed to custody, and his sword taken from him, for they said he afflicted them with his sword. He was next sent for to the meeting-house by the magistrates, and was ordered to stand on a chair to the open view of all the assembly. The accusers cried out that Alden pinched them when he stood on the chair; and one of the magistrates bade the marshal hold open his hands, that he might not pinch those creatures. Mr. Gidney, one of the justices, bid Captain Alden confess, and give glory to God. He replied, he hoped he should always give glory to God, but never would gratify the devil. He asked them why they should think that he should come to that village to afflict persons that he had never seen before; and appealed to all, and particularly challenged Mr. Gidney to produce a charge against his character. Mr. Gidney said he had known him many years, and had been to sea with him, and always believed him to be an honest man; but now he saw cause to alter his opinion. Alden asked Gidney what reason could be given why his looking upon him did not strike him down as well as the miserable accusers; but no reason could be given. He assured Gidney that a lying spirit was in his accusers, and that there was not a word of truth in all they said of him. Alden, however, was committed to jail, where he continued fifteen weeks, when he made his escape.

ried Samuel Delano, a son of the early pilgrims. Mrs. Bass was a maternal ancestor of two Presidents of the United States, John Adams and John Q. Adams. Many excellent citizens may be enumerated among the descendants of John Alden. Judah Alden, Esq. who possesses the paternal domain of his great ancestor, at Duxbury, was a valiant officer in the American army during the eight years of the revolutionary struggle, and is now president of the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati.

The Rev. Timothy Alden, late Minister of Yarmouth, and his son, Timothy, now president of Meadville college, in Pennsylvania, were of this descent.

1687.—The town voted the price of grain as follows; wheat four shillings, rye and barley three shillings, Indian corn 2*s.* 6*d.* the bushel. Tar was made in great abundance, and disposed of in payment of salaries. Shingles and clapboards were considerable articles of traffic; but furs and peltry were the principal, as in all new countries. In town meeting, January 23d, was read an order from his excellency, (Andros) requiring the town of Plymouth to appear before his excellency to substantiate their title to Clark's Island. The town firmly resolved to defend their right to said island to the utmost of their power, and chose a committee to act accordingly, and voted that the town will defray the expense, and a tax of ten pounds in silver money was ordered forthwith for that purpose.

1689, *June* 22*d.*—It was agreed to make sale of Clark's Island, Saquish, the Gurnet, and a certain cedar swamp called Colchester swamp, to help defray the above mentioned charges. Clark's Island was sold to Samuel Lucas, Elkanah Watson, and George Morton, in 1690. At that period, under the government of Andros, the titles to real estate were frequently called in question throughout New England, by which many individuals were grievous sufferers.

The general court of election assembled at Plymouth as formerly, and on the first Tuesday of June, Thomas Hinckley was again elected governor, and William Bradford deputy governor.

1690.—The colonial government appointed the following persons as agents to apply to the English government for a charter:—Sir Henry Ashurst, Rev. Increase Mather, and Rev. Ichabod Wiswall, minister of Duxbury. In February the town of Plymouth voted their acceptance of the three agents above mentioned, and also voted that it was their desire that the utmost endeavors be used to obtain a charter of his majesty, that we might be and continue a government as formerly. Further voted, they would be held for their proportion of £500, and more, if need require, for that purpose, and at the same time agreed to raise their proportion of £200 in advance, to be sent to the gentlemen empowered as agents. It was known to have been in contemplation by the English government to annex Plymouth colony to that of New York, but Rev. Mr. Mather has the credit of preventing that annexation taking place. In 1691, the general court voted thanks to Sir H. Ashurst, Rev. Mr. Mather, and Rev. Mr. Wiswall; and to Sir H. Ashurst a grant of 50 guineas, and Mr. Mather and Mr. Wiswall 25 guineas each for their services. A charter was at length obtained for Massachusetts, which was signed October 7, 1691, and Plymouth was annexed to it. Had the sum of £500 been raised and properly applied, a separate charter would probably have been obtained. The last court of election was holden at Plymouth, in June 1691. Mr. Hinckley was re-elected governor, and William Bradford deputy governor. Sir William Phipps, Kt. arrived at Boston, with the new charter, on the 14th of May 1692. He was commissioned governor-in-chief in their Majesty's name William and Mary, and summoned a court on the 8th of June. The new province of Massachusetts Bay

proceeded to exercise their charter authority, and the amalgamation of the two colonies was soon perfected. By the new charter, Plymouth colony was entitled to four counsellors. Those who were first elected were Thomas Hinckley, William Bradford, John Walley, and Barnabas Lothrop. The qualification of electors according to that warrant was, 'a freehold of 40 shillings per ann. or other property of the value of £40 sterling.' The old general court, however, was summoned, and met at Plymouth on the first Tuesday of July, and exercised their power for the last time, by appointing the last Wednesday of the following August to be kept as a day of solemn fasting and humiliation. Under the colonial government, William Paddy was, it is believed, the first treasurer. Miles Standish succeeded him, and John Alden was chosen his successor, who held the office three years. Constant Southworth was elected in 1659, and held the office till his death in 1679. The deputy governor, William Bradford, was then elected, and was continued by successive annual elections, until the termination of the government, excepting during the administration of Andros. Nathaniel Souther is the first secretary whose name appears. Nathaniel Morton was secretary from 1645 to 1685. Nathaniel Clark was elected in 1685, but held the office one year only. In 1686, Samuel Sprague was elected, who, excepting the interruption in the government during the time of Andros, held the office until the union of the colonies. It appears that some distinguished individuals were dissatisfied with the union of the two colonies, but Governor Hinckley was well reconciled to the measure, and it is clearly understood that the union was at no period a subject of regret with the people generally. Governor Hinckley sustained the office of governor for 12 years, and was in that office when the union took place. He died, according to the history of Massachusetts, in 1706, aged 73 years. But by Prince's chronology, it appears, that he lived to the

age of 85, and this is probably correct, as Mr. Prince was his grandson. The children of governor Hinckley were one son Ebenezer, and five daughters, one of whom, Mary, was married in 1686 to Samuel Prince, of Sandwich, father of the chronologist.

Governors of the colony of Plymouth from 1620 *to* 1692.

1620, John Carver, four months and 24 days.
1621, William Bradford.
1633, Edward Winslow.
1634, Thomas Prince.
1635, William Bradford.
1636, Edward Winslow.
1637, William Bradford.
1638, Thomas Prince.
1639, William Bradford.
1644, Edward Winslow, 3 years.
1645, William Bradford, 31 years.
1657, Thomas Prince, 18 years.
1673, Josiah Winslow, 7 years.
1680 to 1692, Thomas Hinckley, 12 years, including several years' interruption by Andros.

There is a melancholy grandeur in contemplating the extinction of this novel and primitive government, which was founded and continued in existence under circumstances without a parallel in the annals of history, for a period of seventy-one years, presenting to the world an illustrious example of sacrifices cheerfully made in behalf of the highest blessings,—christian and civil liberty and equality.

Census of the town of Plymouth at early periods.

1643, Males from 16 to 60 years, capable of bearing arms 146.
1646, Freemen and townsmen (voters) 79.
1670, Freemen, 51.
1683—4, Freemen, 55.
1689, Freemen, 75,

I cannot omit to introduce here the noble patriotic sentiments of the late excellent President Dwight, who expresses himself in the following eloquent language.* 'Plymouth was the first town built in New England by civilized man; and those by whom it was built were inferior in worth to no body of men, whose names are recorded in history, during the last seventeen hundred years. A kind of venerableness, arising from these facts, attaches to this town, which may be termed a prejudice. Still, it has its foundation in the nature of man, and will never be eradicated either by philosophy or ridicule. No New Englander, who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the rock, where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions very different from those which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New Englander could be willing to have that rock buried and forgotten. Let him reason as much, as coldly, and as ingeniously as he pleases, he will still regard that spot with emotions wholly different from those which are excited by other places of equal or even superior importance. For myself, I cannot wish this trait in the human character obliterated. In a higher state of being, where truth is universally as well as cordially embraced, and virtue controls without a rival, this prejudice, if it must be called by that name, will become useless, and may, therefore, be safely discarded. But in our present condition every attachment, which is innocent, has its use, and contributes both to fix and to soften man.' Speaking of our ancestors, he says, 'But

* President Dwight, formerly of Yale College, undertook a travelling excursion through New England and New York, at the early part of the present century. He estimated the extent of his labors at 15,000 miles. In 1822, he published, in four octavo volumes, the result of his observations. On the subjects of antiquity he dwelt with unceasing enthusiasm, and his volumes are replete with historical, statistical, religious, moral and philosophical information, and anecdote of unrivalled interest and utility.

when I call to mind the history of their sufferings on both sides of the Atlantic, when I remember their pre-eminent patience, their unspotted piety, their immoveable fortitude, their undaunted resolution, their love to each other, their justice and humanity to the savages, and their freedom from all those stains which elsewhere spotted the character even of their companions in affliction, I cannot but view them as illustrious brothers, claiming the veneration and applause of all their posterity. By me the names of Carver, Bradford, Cushman, and Standish, will never be forgotten, until I lose the power of recollection. * * *

'The institutions, civil, literary and religious, by which New England is distinguished on this side the Atlantic, began here. Here the manner of holding lands in free soccage, now universal in this country, commenced. Here the right of suffrage was imparted to every citizen, to every inhabitant not disqualified by poverty or vice. Here was formed the first establishment of towns, of the local legislature, which is called a town meeting, and of the peculiar town executive, styled the selectmen. Here the first parochial school was set up, and the system originated for communicating to every child in the community the knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Here, also, the first building was erected for the worship of God; the first religious assembly gathered; and the first minister called and settled, by the voice of the church and congregation. On these simple foundations has since been erected a structure of good order, peace, liberty, knowledge, morals and religion, with which nothing on this side the Atlantic can bear a remote comparison.'

END OF PART FIRST.

PART II.

We have proceeded thus far in narrating events and incidents of the Old Colony and town in connexion, and shown that the primitive colonial charter and government were abrogated in 1692. We now commence a new epoch, and our future details will pertain to the town as a constitutent of the British Province of Massachusetts Bay, and after our Independence the more noble appellation of United States of America.

1696.—A French privateer fitted out at Bourdeaux, cruising on the American coast, was wrecked in Buzzard's Bay. The crew were carried prisoners to Boston ; the surgeon, Dr. Francis Le Baron, came to Plymouth, and having performed a surgical operation, and the town being at that time destitute of a physician, the selectmen petitioned the executive, lieut. governor Stoughton, for his liberation that he might settle in this town. This was granted, and he married and practised physic here during life, but died in 1704, at the early age of thirty-six years. Dr. Le Baron did not relinquish the Roman Catholic religion, and was so strongly attached to the cross, that he never retired to rest without placing it on his breast. This constantly reminded the people of a religion which they abhorred, and which they were scarcely willing to tolerate in a single instance. He made a donation of ninety acres of wood land to the town. His son, Lazarus, studied medicine, and enjoyed an extensive course of practice in Plymouth and its vicinity, and died lamented in 1773,

aged 75 years. Two of his sons, Joseph and Lazarus, were also physicians, both of whom, after residing a short period in the West Indies, died in Plymouth, as did three other sons, and the only survivor is Rev. Mr. Lemuel Le Baron, minister of a church and society at Mattapoiset, (Rochester,) where he was ordained in 1772. From this stock, all that bear the name of Le Baron in this country are descended, and they are numerous and respectable.

1701.—A canal, or water course, was cut, to convey the water from South Pond to the head of Eel River, about half a mile distant, the object being to form an artificial passage for alewives into the pond; but the attempt proved unsuccessful. Elder Faunce was the leader in this project, and, as the water course crosses the road, we are, in passing, reminded of the venerable man whom we delight to remember.

1711.—An attempt was made to form an oyster bed in Plymouth harbor. Oysters were procured and deposited in a certain place, with the hope that they might be thus propagated; but it was ascertained by the experiment, that the flats are left dry too long for their habit, which requires that they be covered at all times by water.

June 13.—James Warren, Esq. died. He was taken suddenly ill as he was going to the general assembly. He was a gentleman of great integrity and capacity, was sheriff of the county, and held other responsible offices. His loss was universally lamented. He left a son, James Warren, of Plymouth.

1722-3. *February.*—On a blank leaf under this date, we meet the following record, made by Elder Faunce, 'Was a dreadful storm, which raised the tide three or four feet higher than had been known aforetime.' This is the storm of which Cotton Mather gave an account to the Royal Society; it was on the 24th of February. In the year 1770 was a similar tide; and also about 1785, when it was level nearly with the

locks of the store doors on wharves, and a quantity of salt and other goods were damaged.

1727. *May.*—Elizabeth Colson, a mulatto woman, was executed at Plymouth, for the murder of her infant child.

1730-31.—A mortal fever prevailed in Plymouth; there was an instance of eight in the connexion of one family who died at that time.

1731-2.—John Watson, Esq. expired Sept. 9, aged about 53 years. He was a useful and respectable inhabitant of the town, transacted much business, and afforded employment to a great number of poor people. He was charitably disposed, and supposed to possess the largest estate of any person in the county.

Mr. John Watson, son of the above, was a scholar and a gentleman. He died in January, 1753, at the early age of 37 years; and his wife having died before, they left three orphan children, two sons and a daughter. One of the sons was the late John Watson, Esq. the second president of the Pilgrim Society.

1737.—The following is the mark of a whale, left on record by Bejamin Rider. The said whale was struck by Joseph Sachemus, Indian, at Manomet Ponds, the 25th of November, 1737. There were several irons put into her; one was a backward iron on her left side, and two irons on her right side, and one lance on her right side. The iron on the left side was broke about six inches from the socket. She carried away one short warp with a drag to it, and a long warp with a drag without a buoy. One of the drag staves was made with white birch, &c.

1738.—One Crimble was indicted at Plymouth for forging a bond, but for want of evidence, was only convicted for a *cheat*, and was ordered to wear said bond, with a piece of paper over it, with cheat written thereon, and to stand on the court house steps half an hour.

This year square-toed shoes went out of fashion, and buckles began to be worn.

1740.—A blacksmith working at his forge was sportively beset by a young man, against whose jugular vein (it must have been the carotid artery) the smith unfortunately brought a hot iron, so that he bled to death in six minutes.

1741.—On the Sabbath, March 30th, the town of Plymouth was alarmed, during divine service, by Joseph Wampum, a native, who gave information that eight Spaniards had landed at his house, situate four miles distant from Buzzard's Bay. War existed at that time between England and Spain. This notice therefore, justly excited an universal panic. The drums beat to arms, and the militia were ordered out. It proved however to be a false alarm, and has ever been called Wampum's war.

1745.—A full company of soldiers was this year enlisted in Plymouth for the expedition against Louisburg, and it was remarked, they were the first for that service who appeared at Boston, whence they embarked and served with credit on that memorable occasion. Sylvanus Cobb was the captain, and Dr. William Thomas, of this town, was surgeon in the expedition.

1749.—A court house was erected in Plymouth, near the first meeting house. The town gave £1000 old tenor, on condition of having the privilege of using it for town meetings. It was planned by the late Judge Oliver, of Middleborough. The front door was originally at the east end, with a handsome flight of steps. When the door was altered a market place was made under the house. When the brick court house was erected, in 1818, the town of Plymouth purchased of the county, the old court house, which is now used for a town house.

It should be gratefully recorded, that John Murdock, Esq. an eminent merchant, at his death, about 1750, gave £200 to the poor, and to the school of the town,

in equal portions. Mr. Murdock was from Scotland, married in this town about 1686, and again a second wife about the year 1719, Phebe Morton, a daughter of John Morton, of Middleborough. An only daughter (Phebe) of this marriage, became the wife of William Bowdoin, of Boston, a brother of governor Bowdoin. An intimacy subsisted many years between Mr. Murdock and the father of governor Bowdoin, who was in the habit of making him an annual visit at Plymouth. Two of the oldest wharves in Plymouth were built by Mr. Murdock, one as early, perhaps, as 1691, at which period there were not more than three or four erected.

1750.—Died in this town, Isaac Lothrop Esq., at the age of forty-three. He was one of the justices of the court of common pleas, and his death occasioned a general gloom in the town and throughout the county. At the opening of the next court, May 15th, Nicholas Sever, Esq. chief justice and Peter Oliver, Esq. one of the justices of the said court, both expressed from the bench the great grief and sorrow with which the court and bar were affected by the melancholy event, and observed that colonel Lothrop was held in profound regard as a judge, and was greatly respected for his moral and christian virtues. He possessed a large estate, and transacted extensive business in the mercantile line, in which he sustained an honorable and upright character. Few men have been more affectionately beloved, nor any whose death could diffuse more heartfelt sorrow among the poor, and in every social circle. Mr. Lothrop left four children, Thomas, Isaac, Nathaniel, and Abigail. The following inscription is found on his tomb-stone.

> 'Had virtues charms the power to save
> Its faithful votaries from the grave,
> This stone had ne'er possessed the fame
> Of being mark'd with Lothrop's name.'

An excise act, laying a duty on wine and spirits consumed in private families, was passed, and governor

Shirley suspended his assent; for which an address of thanks was voted to him by the town.

1755.—Nov. 18, there was a terrible earthquake in America; the shock of which was the most violent that was ever known in the country. A spring in the northwest part of this town, in the public road, was shifted, it being, before that event, on the east side of the road; soon after, it appeared on the west side, and so continues, an ever-flowing stream. *Tinker's Rock Spring* was its ancient name; the rock is blown up. This is the well-known spring about half a mile from town, near Mr. Nelson's house.

In 1758, the town chose a committee to devise a means of paving the public streets in Plymouth, but the project failed of success.

The names of the two following gentlemen deserve to be recorded in this place. The Hon. *Josiah Cotton* was son of John Cotton, some time minister of Plymouth, and grandson of John Cotton, minister in Boston. He was born in Plymouth, Jan. 8th, 1679, and graduated at Harvard College in 1698, and became a teacher of a school in Marblehead, in October following, where he preached his first sermon, September, 1702. In 1704, he discontinued preaching and returned to his native town, where he was a school instructer for seven years. This respectable man held, at different times, several civil offices in the county, as clerk of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Justice of the same court, Register of Probate, and Register of Deeds. He was also occasionally employed as a preacher to the Indians in Plymouth and the vicinity, having acquired a competent acquaintance with their language. He was the author of the Supplement to the New England Memorial. He left a Diary, which he began in his youth, soon after he left college, and continued nearly to the time of his decease. It is in the possession of his grandson, Rosseter Cotton, Esq. the present Register of Deeds for the county of Plym-

outh. It contains many historical facts, which it would be desirable to have extracted and presented to the Massachusetts Historical, or to the Pilgrim Society, for preservation. Mr. Cotton died in 1756, aged 76 years, leaving a numerous progeny. He possessed a strong and sound mind, and was fervently pious, and indefatigable in the discharge of all the duties of his various and honorable stations in life.

John Cotton, Esq. son of the above, was born April, 1712, graduated at Harvard College, 1730, and was ordained minister at Halifax, county of Plymouth, October, 1736. From an indisposition, which greatly affected his voice, he requested and received his dismission in 1756. He succeeded his father in the office of Register of Deeds, which he held until his decease, which took place Nov. 4th, 1789, in the 78th year of his age. He was considered an able theologian, and his pulpit performances were much esteemed by judicious auditors. He was the author of the valuable *Account of Plymouth Church*, appended to the sermon preached at the ordination of Rev. Chandler Robbins, in 1760. This account was republished in the 4th vol. of the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and has been resorted to by the author of the present work. He published, also, seasonable warnings to the churches of New England, and tracts on Infant Baptism, and several occasional sermons. He was chosen by the town, delegate to the convention for forming a constitution for the Commonwealth, in the year 1780, and was one of the committee for the county to draft the constitution. He left sons and daughters. Josiah, the eldest, was the minister at Wareham, and afterwards a magistrate and clerk of the court for the county of Plymouth. He died April, 1819, aged 71, leaving one son, who is a physician in the state of Ohio, and one daughter who is the wife of Isaac L. Hedge, Esq. of this town. Two other sons of John

Cotton, are Rosseter, the present Register of Deeds for the county, and Ward, minister of Boylston.

1761. *March* 12th.—Two shocks of an earthquake were felt throughout New England.

1764.—This year, the people in the New England Provinces began to manifest considerable alarm at the measures of the British administration, founded on their claims to make laws, and levy taxes on the people without their consent.

1765.—A *Stamp Act* being passed the British Parliament, the greatest excitement was created throughout the American colonies. The inhabitants of this town participated in the patriotic spirit, and resolved to unite in the general opposition to the obnoxious measure.* In town meeting, October 14th, it was voted to instruct their representative to the general court, to represent the sentiments and feelings of the inhabitants as most decidedly opposed to any tax in the form of stamps or stamp acts, and to exert his influence against the execution of the stamp act. The instructions teem with patriotic ardor, calling to mind that they inhabit the spot where our ancestors founded an *asylum for liberty*. 'We likewise,' say the instructions, 'to avoid disgracing the memories of our ancestors, as well as the reproaches of our own consciences and the curses of posterity, recommend it to you to obtain, if possible, in the honorable house of representatives of this province, full and explicit assertion of our rights, and to have the same entered on their public records, that all generations yet to come may be convinced that we have not only a just sense of our rights and liberties, but that we never (with submission to Divine Providence) will be slaves to any power on earth.' The stamp act was repealed January 16th, 1766. The

* By this act a ream of bail bonds *stamped* would cost £100; a ream of common printed ones before was £15. A ream of *stamped* policies of insurance was £190; of common ones, without stamps £20.

town voted an address of thanks to the town of Boston for their patriotic measures in asserting and defending the precious rights and liberties of our common country.

1769.—On the 11th day of May there was a snow storm of twelve hours continuance.

Old Colony Club.—This year seven respectable individuals, inhabitants of Plymouth, instituted a social club which they styled as above. They elected an additional number of members, and invited guests were admitted to their meetings. It was in this club that the custom of solemnizing the anniversary of the arrival of our forefathers first originated, and this was the principal object of its formation. I shall transcribe for the entertainment of my readers, such parts of their records as cannot fail of being acceptable. The late Isaac Lothrop, Esq. a zealous antiquarian, was their president, and Captain Thomas Lothrop, secretary.

January 13th, 1769.—'We whose names are underwritten, having maturely weighed and seriously considered the many disadvantages and inconveniences that arise from intermixing with the company at the taverns in this town, and apprehending that a well regulated club will have a tendency to prevent the same, and to increase, not only the pleasure and happiness of the respective members, but, also, will conduce to their edification and instruction, do hereby incorporate ourselves into a society, by the name of the *Old Colony Club*. For the better regulation of which we do consent and agree to observe all such rules and laws, as shall, from time to time be made by the club. Dated at our Hall, in Plymouth the day and year above written.

Isaac Lothrop.	John Thomas.
Pelham Winslow.	Edward Winslow, Jr.
Thomas Lothrop.	John Watson.
Elkanah Cushman.	

December 18*th.*—At a meeting of the club, voted, that Friday next be kept by this club in commemoration of the landing of our worthy ancestors in this place; that the club dine together at Mr. Howland's, and that a number of gentlemen be invited to spend the evening with us at the Old Colony Hall.

Old Colony Day. First Celebration of the Landing of our Forefathers.—Friday, December 22. The Old Colony Club, agreeably to a vote passed the 18th instant, met, in commemoration of the landing of their worthy ancestors in this place. On the morning of said day, after discharging a cannon, was hoisted upon the hall an elegant silk flag, with the following inscription, '*Old Colony*,' 1620. At eleven o'clock, A. M. the members of the club appeared at the hall, and from thence proceeded to the house of Mr. Howland, innholder, which is erected upon the spot where the first licensed house in the Old Colony formerly stood; at half after two a decent repast was served up, which consisted of the following dishes, viz.

1, a large baked Indian whortleberry pudding; 2, a dish of sauquetach, (succatach, corn and beans boiled together); 3, a dish of clams; 4, a dish of oysters and a dish of cod fish; 5, a haunch of venison, roasted by the first Jack brought to the colony; 6, a dish of sea fowl; 7, a dish of frost fish and eels; 8, an apple pie; 9, a course of cranberry tarts, and cheese made in the Old Colony.

These articles were dressed in the plainest manner (all appearance of luxury and extravagance being avoided, in imitation of our ancestors, whose memory we shall ever respect.) At 4 o'clock, P. M. the members of our club, headed by the steward, carrying a folio volume of the laws of the Old Colony, hand in hand marched in procession to the hall. Upon the appearance of the procession in front of the hall, a number of descendants from the first settlers in the Old Colony drew up in a regular file, and discharged a volley of small arms,

succeeded by three cheers, which were returned by the club, and the gentlemen generously treated. After this, appeared at the private grammar school opposite the hall, a number of young gentlemen, pupils of Mr. Wadsworth, who, to express their joy upon this occasion, and their respect for the memory of their ancestors, in the most agreeable manner joined in singing a song very applicable to the day. At sunsetting a cannon was discharged, and the flag struck. In the evening the hall was illuminated, and the following gentlemen, being previously invited, joined the club, viz.

Col. George Watson.	Capt. Thomas Davis.
Col. James Warren.	Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop.
James Hovey, Esq.	Mr. John Russell.
Thomas Mayhew, Esq.	Mr. Edward Clarke.
William Watson, Esq.	Mr. Alexander Scammell.
Capt. Gideon White.	Mr. Peleg Wadsworth.
Capt. Elkanah Watson.	Mr. Thomas Southworth Howland.

The president being seated in a large and venerable chair, which was formerly possessed by William Bradford, the second worthy governor of the Old Colony, and presented to the club by our friend Dr. Lazarus Le Baron, of this town, delivered several appropriate toasts. After spending the evening in an agreeable manner, in recapitulating and conversing upon the many and various advantages of our forefathers in the first settlement of this country, and the growth and increase of the same,—at eleven o'clock in the evening a cannon was again fired, three cheers given, and the club and company withdrew.

1770, *December* 24. In pursuance of the determination at their last meeting, for the purpose of celebrating this 24th day of December (the 22d falling on Saturday,) in commemoration of that period which landed their progenitors safely on this American shore, after having endured the persecution of enemies, the perils of an unknown ocean, the crosses of fortune, and

innumerable difficulties and hazards attending such emigrants.

The morning of the day gave such general joy and satisfaction to their descendants in this place, that, notwithstanding the severity of the season, as soon as light appeared a company of grateful youths paraded our streets, and, with cannon and volleys of small-arms, aroused the town from its slumbers. At ten o'clock, the members of the club, being joined by Messrs. Alexander Scammell and Peleg Wadsworth, B. A., assembled at the house of Mr. Howland, an innholder in Plymouth, and at twelve, were joined by the following gentlemen, viz. Thomas Foster, James Hovey, George Watson, and James Warren, Esqrs., Captain Elkanah Watson and Doctor Nathaniel Lothrop, of Plymouth, and the Hon. William Sever, Esq. of Kingston, where, after having amused themselves in conversation upon the history of emigrant colonies, and the constitution and declension of empires, ancient and modern, they were served with an entertainment, foreign from all kind of luxury, and consisting of fish, flesh, and vegetables, the natural produce of this colony; after which, the company being increased by Edward Winslow, Esq., Doctor Lazarus Le Baron, William Watson, Esq., Thomas Mayhew, Esq., Deacon John Torry, Captain Theophilus Cotton, Captain Abraham Hammett, Mr. Ephraim Spooner, and Mr. John Crandon, a number of toasts were drank, grateful to the remembrance of our ancestors, and loyal to those kings, under whose indulgent care this colony has flourished and been protected. From which house, the club, together with the before mentioned gentlemen, being escorted by a select company, well skilled in the military arts, walked in decent procession to Old Colony Hall, in the course of which they were met, and attended upon, by a company of children from the age of five to the age of twelve, whose natural ingenuity and the care and attention of their master, hath rendered them almost per-

fect military disciplinarians, a scene that excited the admiration of every spectator. Upon their arrival at the door of the hall, the whole company entered the room, being introduced by the steward and complimented by the club, and the escort, by whom was performed a variety of manœuvres and firings, to the great satisfaction of every person present.* When the sun had set, and the military gentlemen had dispersed, the Old Colony flag was struck, the cannon fired, and the company in the hall were joined by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, pastor of the First Church of Christ in Plymouth.

In order to remind us of the debt of gratitude we owe to our God, and to our ancestors, the following words were spoken, with modest and decent firmness, by a member of the club. (Edward Winslow, Jr. Esq.)

'When I recollect, that about one century and a half since, a few worthies on the Island of Great Britain, persecuted and tormented by the wicked aspiring *great*, for thinking freely, and for acting with the same dignity and freedom with which they thought, although their sentiments and conduct were conformed to the laws of the society in which they lived, contrary to the common cause of suffering humanity, which frequently sinks in proportion to the power exerted against it, did dare, in defiance of their persecutors, to form themselves into one body for the common safety and

* Peleg Wadsworth was a native of Duxbury, graduated at Harvard, 1769. He was for many years a respectable teacher of a grammar school in this town; and in 1775, when minute companies were formed, and the manual exercise arrested general attention, he devoted much of his time to the instruction of young men in the use of fire-arms, and instilling into the minds of youth a true sense and value of liberty and freedom. He was at some period of the revolutionary war in military service, and in 1780 appointed to the command of a detachment of state troops, in Camden, state of Maine. In this situation he was assaulted and captured by the British, under circumstances of peril and suffering almost unprecedented.—*See President Dwight's Travels, and Thatcher's Military Journal.*

protection of all, an engagement, which though founded on the true and genuine principles of religion and virtue, unhappy experience taught them was too weak and insecure a barrier against the arts and stratagems of such potent adversaries. When we recollect that, under these melancholy circumstances, having no other resort to preserve the purity of their minds, they abandoned their native country, their friends, their fortunes, and connexions, and transported themselves to the city of Leyden, with the most sanguine hopes of a protection which the Island had refused to afford them. When we recollect that persecution, from another quarter, rendered their situation in the states of Holland equally as perplexed and disagreeable,—how am I astonished that such repeated disappointments had not rendered them too weak ever to make another attempt. But when we view them rising from their misfortunes with tenfold vigor, and, upon the same virtuous principles, crossing the Atlantic with the dearest companions of life, their wives, their helpless offspring, exposed to the roughness of the ocean, to the inclemencies of the climate, and all their attendant evils, and landing in the tempestuous month of December upon an unknown shore, inhabited by men more fierce than beasts of prey, and scarce deserving to be called human, natural enemies to their virtue and morality, with whom they are obliged to wage an immediate and unequal war for their defence and safety. When we view them, under all the disadvantages naturally attendant upon a state of sickness and poverty, defending themselves against savage cruelties, and still persevering in their virtuous resolutions, establishing their religion in this then desert, forming a code of laws wisely adapted to their circumstances, and planting a colony which, through divine goodness, has flourished and become an important branch of that body which caused their emigration,—how am I lost in amazement! And to what cause can we ascribe these

deliverances and salvation but to that Almighty Being who orders all events for the benefit of mankind, whose ways are to us unsearchable, and whose doings are past our finding out.

'Upon a recollection of all these things, it is not to be wondered, that we the sons and descendants from such illustrious ancestors, upon this 22d of December, assembled upon the very spot on which they landed, do commemorate this period, the most important that the annals of America can boast, a period which, I doubt not, every person here present esteems an honor, as well as his incumbent duty, gratefully to remember; and while we feel for the misfortunes and calamities of those, our pious ancestors, the consequences of which to us are so delightful and glorious, let us also admire and adore their virtue, their patience, their fortitude, and their heroism, and continue to commemorate it annually. This virtue is undoubtedly rewarded with joys which no tongue can utter, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive; and if we their sons act from the same principles, and conduct with the same noble firmness and resolutions, when our holy religion or our civil liberties are invaded, we may expect a reward proportionate; for such principles render the soul tranquil and easy under all the misfortunes and calamities to which human nature is exposed, and of him who is possessed by them, the poet with propriety says,

> "Should the whole frame of nature round him break,
> In ruin and confusion hurled,
> He, unconcerned, would hear the mighty crack,
> And stand secure amidst a falling world."'

The evening was concluded by singing a song composed by Mr. Alexander Scammel.*

* 'Mr. A. Scammel was then the teacher of the Plymouth town school. He was afterwards a distinguished officer in the American

1771.—*December* 20. At an occasional meeting, Alexander Scammel, M. A. was, by his desire, unanimously voted in as a member of the club.

December 23*d*. The 22d falling on Sunday, the club voted to celebrate Forefather's Day on Monday the 23d. In the morning a cannon was discharged and the flag hoisted on the hall. At noon, the club being joined by a number of the most respectable gentlemen in town, met in a spacious room at the house of Mr. Wethrell, innholder, where they partook of a plain and elegant entertainment, and spent the afternoon in cheerful and social conversation, upon a variety of subjects peculiarly adapted to the time. At sunset, upon a signal given by the discharge of cannon and striking the flag, the members of the club, with the gentlemen of the town, repaired to the hall, where the aforesaid subjects were resumed, and several important matters, relative to the conduct of our ancestors, were discussed with freedom and candor, and a number of pleasing anecdotes of our progenitors were recollected and communicated by some of the aged and venerable gentlemen who favored us with their company.

An uncommon harmony and pleasantry prevailed throughout the day and evening, every person present exerting himself to increase the general joy. The Old Colony song, with a number of others, was sung, after which the company withdrew.

A letter from the Rev. Mr. Robbins was communicated by the president, and is as follows:

'*Plymouth, December* 23, 1771.

Gentlemen: I am told it was expected by some, that as the anniversary of our forefathers' arrival in

army. At the siege of York Town, September 30th, 1781, he received a fatal wound, and was captured by the British. He died in the city of Williamsburg, Virginia, where is a monumental tablet

Which conquering armies, from their toils return'd,
Rear'd to his glory, while his fate they mourned.'
Humphreys.

this place fell on the Sabbath past, I would have taken some public notice of it in the pulpit. I must acknowledge I think there would have been a great propriety in it, and I am very sorry it was entirely out of my mind that *that* was the day, till I was reminded of it to-day; otherwise I should certainly have taken notice of it, and attempted to say something suitable to the occasion; however, it is past now; but I would on this occasion, if it would not be esteemed assuming in me, humbly propose to the gentlemen of your society, whether it would not be agreeable, and serve for the entertainment and instruction of the rising generation, more especially for the future, on these anniversaries to have a sermon in public some part of the day, peculiarly adapted to the occasion, wherein should be represented the motives that induced them to undertake such an enterprise, the amazing dangers and difficulties they conflicted with and overcame, the piety and ardor with which they persevered through numberless discouragements and opposition—the time, manner, and other circumstances of their first arrival,—with all the train of surprising events that ensued,—the appearances of the divine providence and goodness for them, the noble and God-like virtue with which they were inspired, so worthy the imitation of their posterity, &c. &c.—with many other things, that would naturally fall in upon a discourse of this kind. I mention this, gentlemen, the more freely, because I remember it was spoken of in conversation by some of the gentlemen of your company the evening of the last anniversary. I do *but propose* the thing, gentlemen, for your consideration this evening, and if it should prove agreeable, I would beg leave to suggest one thing further, viz. that the minister to preach the sermon be chosen by your society somewhere *within the Old Colony*, and I doubt not any gentleman whom you should choose for that purpose would very willingly consent, in order to encourage so good a design.

'And now, gentlemen, I rest assured that your candor and generosity is such, that you will not construe what I have offered in an unfavorable light, either as being dictatorial, or seeming to desire myself the office of speaker on such occasion, which I can sincerely say is far from being true. I propose it for the instruction and entertainment of ourselves and posterity. The plan, if it should be agreeable, would afford us opportunity to hear these matters discoursed on by a great variety of ministers, who would doubtless take pains to furnish themselves with entertaining and useful materials for the occasion. And for this end, if they were appointed at each anniversary for the next year, they would have so much the better opportunity to prepare. Submitting the matter to your consideration, I am, gentlemen, with much regard,

'Your friend and very humble servant,

'CHANDLER ROBBINS.'

Voted, that Messrs. Pelham Winslow, Edward Winslow, Jr. and Alexander Scammel, should be a committee to prepare an answer to the above letter, which they are to lay before the club as soon as may be.

1772.—*January 7th.* Messrs. Pelham Winslow, Edward Winslow, and Alexander Scammel, the committee chosen the 23d December, reported an answer to the Rev. Mr. Robbins' letter, which was approved, and accordingly forwarded by the club, and is as follows:

REV. AND RESPECTED SIR: We have carefully perused the contents of your letter of the 23d inst., but before we proceed to a particular answer thereto, we think it necessary to observe, that the members of this society, (who weekly meet together for the mutual advantage of each other, to enjoy the refined pleasures of social and unrestrained conversation, unalloyed with the disputes and contentions of parties) having taken into consideration, that the celebrating certain days of each year,

upon which any remarkable event or extraordinary transaction had happened, is a practice, which has the sanction of antiquity for its justification, finding frequent instances of it in *sacred* as well as profane, in ancient as well as modern history, not only among nations, states and churches, but even in particular societies and corporations,—we were not a little surprised, that an event so important and glorious in its consequences as the landing of our ancestors in this place, should be totally neglected by their descendants;—considering further, that the assembling a number of persons of different ages, for the purpose of commemorating this *truly* remarkable period, would have a natural and direct tendency to introduce subjects for conversation relative to our illustrious progenitors and the history of our country, the aged upon those days would with freedom communicate to the youth those circumstances which had happened within their memories, and those also which had been casually related to them by their predecessors; by these means many pleasing and curious anecdotes of our pious forefathers, which have escaped the pens of historians, would be snatched from oblivion and descend to posterity; and while we, with pleasure and gratitude, were recollecting and admiring their virtues, their patience, their piety, their heroism, and their fortitude, we might be incited to follow their worthy examples.

'These, sir, were the principal motives by which we were actuated, (whatever the malice and envy of some might suggest to the contrary,) when we proposed to celebrate this anniversary, and we were pleased with the expectation of being joined by many of the respectable members of the Old Colony; and (from a consciousness of the rectitude of our intentions, and the benefit that might result to us and others from this institution,) we flattered ourselves that *even* the reverend gentlemen of the clergy would give a sanction to it, by honoring us with their presence.

'Our expectations have been, in part, answered, and we esteem ourselves under the greatest obligation to you, sir, for proposing a mode of celebration for the future, so exactly correspondent with our most sanguine wishes and expectations, as that of having a sermon preached on this *solemn*, as well as *important* occasion." We concur with you "that it would be agreeable, and serve for the entertainment and instruction of the rising generation;" and we are of opinion that the motives and inducements of our religious forefathers for undertaking so dangerous an enterprise as the settlement of this colony, the amazing difficulties they encountered and overcame, the true vital piety and ardor with which they persevered, their sincere desire to advance the christian religion, and other their noble and godlike virtues, are subjects that ought to be minutely discussed, and solemnized by the sacred oratory of the pulpit.

'We have endeavored to deserve the compliment which you have been pleased to pay us, construing your letter "with generosity and candor." We neither esteem it "dictatorial," nor as "desiring yourself the office of speaker on the occasion."

'We have impatiently waited for a proposal of this kind to be made to some gentleman of the clergy by persons whose ages and situations in life have given them greater influence than ourselves, but it has been hitherto omitted; we would modestly request (as you are the pastor of the first church that was gathered in the Old Colony, have the greatest advantages and opportunities for collecting all the *historical facts* and other materials that may be necessary for this work, and in every other respect are peculiarly qualified therefor) that you would, upon the ensuing anniversary, prepare and deliver a discourse "suitable to the time;" and, in complying with this our request, we *trust* that you will not only render a singular service to the public, but will oblige many of the respectable inhabitants

of the Old Colony, and, in particular, the members of this society. We are, with the most unfeigned respect and gratitude,

'Your sincere friends and obedt. servants,

'THE OLD COLONY CLUB.

'From Old Colony Hall, December 31, 1771.

'Rev. CHANDLER ROBBINS.'

1772. *December 15th.*—At a meeting, voted that William Watson, Esq., Capt. Elkanah Watson, Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop, Capt. Gideon White, Dr. Lazarus Le Baron, Thomas Foster, Esq., George Watson, Esq. Edward Winslow, Esq., Thomas Mayhew, Esq., James Hovey, Esq., Deacon John Torrey, and James Warren, Esq., be invited to Old Colony Club on Wednesday evening next, then and there to join the Club in proposing a method of celebration of the next 22d of December.

December 16, at a meeting, present, Pelham Winslow, John Thomas, Edward Winslow, Cornelius White, Thomas Lothrop, Elkanah Cushman, John Watson, Thomas Mayhew.

Thomas Foster, James Hovey, George Watson, James Warren, Thomas Mayhew, William Watson, Esq., Capt. Gideon White, Dr. William Thomas, Dr. Nathaniel Lothrop, by invitation,

Voted by the Club and the above gentlemen,

1. That a committee be chosen from among the members of this Club, to wait on the Rev. Mr. Robbins, and inform him that it is expected by the gentlemen of this place, that he will gratify the public by complying with the request of this Club, made in their letter to him dated the 31st, of December, A. D. 1771, 'to preach a sermon on the ensuing anniversary,' and that (if it be agreeable to him) to begin the services at half after ten o'clock in the forenoon.

2. That the company, together with such other

gentlemen as may join us from the neighboring towns, dine together at the house of Mr. Howland, in Plymouth.

3. That the gentlemen of the clergy belonging to this town, together with those who may be here from the other towns, be invited to dine with the company at Mr. Howland's.

After the company withdrew,

Voted by the Club, that Pelham Winslow, John Thomas, and John Watson, be a committee to wait on the Rev. Mr. Robbins for the purpose mentioned in the beforegoing vote of the company; and that they also request of Mr. Robbins, that he would, on the Sabbath preceding the anniversary, notify his church and congregation of our intention to celebrate the said day. And that they also wait on the Rev. Mr. Bacon, and make the same request to him. And they are to make report of their doings to this Club on Monday at 11 o'clock A. M., to which time this Club is adjourned.

December 22.—Upon this 22d day of December, (to show our gratitude to the Creator and Preserver of our ancestors and ourselves, and as a mark of respect most justly due to the memories of those heroic christians, who on the 22d of December, 1620, landed on this spot,) the members of this Club joined a numerous and respectable assembly in the meeting house of the first parish in Plymouth, and, after an hymn of praise and prayer to God, the Rev. Mr. Chandler Robbins delivered an historic and pathetic discourse, from these words; 'For he established a testimony in Jacob, and appointed a law in Israel, which he commanded our fathers, that they should make them known to their children, that the generations to come might know *them*, even the children *which* should be born: *who* should arise and declare *them* to their children, that they might set their hope in God, and not forget the works of God, and keep his commandments.'

In which, after enumerating many of the virtues of our predecessors, he recounted their toils, their hazards, and their troubles in their various attempts to shun the horrors of a despotic power, and the curses of an ecclesiastical tyranny, and to obtain a land wherein they might enjoy their religion in its purity, and peace of conscience. This sermon closed with an address to the audience, which did honor to humanity and himself; and, by the profound silence and solemn attention which prevailed throughout this vast collection of people, of all ages, he must have had the pleasing satisfaction of concluding that he had not spent his strength for nought. The New England hymn, composed by Doctor Byles, sung with uncommon melody, finished the exercise.

That cheerfulness, (the never-failing companion of grateful christians,) might reign among us, the members of the club, together with the reverend gentlemen of the clergy, and others, the most respectable of the congregation, repaired to the house of Mr. Howland, where a table was spread and abundantly furnished with the various productions of this *now fruitful* country, at which the honorable general John Winslow presided. After partaking of these bounties, and spending a few hours in the most social conversation upon the history of our country, the adventures of our ancestors, &c. subjects at this time peculiarly pleasing, the company proceeded to Old Colony Hall, where the same sociability and harmony prevailed throughout the evening.

January 6th.—Voted by the club and the gentlemen present, that the Rev. Charles Turner, of Duxbury, be invited to preach the next anniversary sermon, and that Pelham Winslow, Thomas Lothrop, John Thomas, and Edward Winslow, be a committee to draft a letter to that gentleman; and that the same committee write a letter of thanks to the Rev. Mr. Robbins, for his sermon on the 22d ult., and request a copy thereof;—the committee to make report the next club night. Rev. Mr.

Turner accepted the invitation to preach the anniversary sermon, and performed that service December 22d, 1773.

The committee reported the following letter to the Rev. Mr. Robbins.

'*Old Colony Hall, January 13th*, 1773.

Rev. Sir: The members of this society, deeply impressed with a sense of gratitude for your obliging compliance with their request to preach a sermon in commemoration of the settlement of our ancestors in this place, beg leave to return our sincere thanks for your entertaining and instructive discourse of the 22d December last, and in order to perpetuate the many pertinent observations therein contained, would modestly request a copy, that the rising generation may have a better opportunity of being benefited and instructed, which you justly observed, was the more immediate design of the discourse. We are with all due respect, your most humble servants.

'Old Colony Club.'

Answer.

'Respected Gentlemen: Having just received your obliging favor, being from home when it was sent, I take this opportunity to acknowledge my obligations for your acceptance of my endeavors to gratify the members of your society and others, in the sermon you refer to. The subject is so well known and handled in the printed memoirs of those times, that a publication of the discourse seems needless, and I fear will never answer your expectations and the end you propose. I shall, however, not be averse to gratify your request for a copy, if it shall be judged any way likely to afford any entertainment to the rising generation, and ask the favor of a little further time to think of the affair. I am with much esteem, gentlemen,

'Your humble servant, C. Robbins.'

February 24th.—At a meeting, the following letter,

(together with the anniversary sermon in manuscript), was this night received from the Rev. Mr. Robbins.

'*Plymouth, Feb.* 23, 1773.

'FRIENDS AND GENTLEMEN: Having considered your request to me for a copy of my sermon, preached at the last anniversary, &c., partly from the desire of others, who can never expect that benefit from the *larger* histories of those times which you, gentlemen, and many others may enjoy; but, chiefly, in gratification of the request of your society, to whom I acknowledge myself under obligations for their candor and respect, I now present you a copy of said sermon, with liberty to make what use of it you shall think proper; and am, gentlemen, with much esteem, your obliged friend and humble servant, C. ROBBINS.

'*The Old Colony Club.*'

November 24th.—At a meeting of the club, James Warren, Esq., Mr. John Torrey, and Mr. Thomas Jackson, came in and said, 'that they were a sub-committee (appointed by the committee of correspondence and communication of this town) for the purpose of informing this club of the determination of the said committee of correspondence relative to the celebration of the next 22d of December, and to request that the club would join with and conform thereto.' Voted, that the consideration of this matter be adjourned to the next club night, and that then a written answer be prepared, and on the Monday night following, be presented to the committee.

December 1st.—At a meeting of the club. The committee chosen at the last club night to prepare an answer to the committee of correspondence, reported the following, which, being read and considered, was accepted, and ordered to be recorded.

'To the committee of communication and correspondence of the town of Plymouth.

'GENTLEMEN: The Old Colony Club received your

message by your sub-committee, with your determination in what way and manner the ensuing anniversary of the 22d of December shall be solemnized and celebrated, with a request that we would join with and conform thereto. We have fully, liberally, and candidly considered thereof, and in answer would observe, that this club are not, nor ever have been, anxious or desirous of taking the lead and direction, or marshalling and regulating, the public solemnities and particular rights and ceremonies of that important day, having always invited the gentlemen of the town to a consultation previous to any determination, and having ever acted by and with the advice and consent of the gentlemen present, and not *exparte*, as may appear from the records of our proceedings on those occasions. Justice to ourselves, however, emboldens us to say, that, as we were the first institutors of this festival, and as no event has taken place to lessen our dignity or consequence as a club since the last anniversary, we have a right to be consulted on the manner of celebrating it, whether the same be taken into consideration by the gentlemen of the town, county, or colony. As gentlemen of the town, we will not dispute your right of acting in this matter, in conjunction with others, but as a committee of correspondence, &c. (in which name and capacity you have accosted us) we absolutely deny your jurisdiction and authority. By the records of this town it appears, that you were chosen 'to communicate and correspond with the town of Boston and other towns;' and in this business we would not interfere or molest you. But we apprehend that your contituents had no more idea or suspicion of your interfering in these matters, (as a committee of correspondence,) than they had of your regulating or altering their creed, or their catechism. And it appears to us, that you have just the same right to meddle with the one as the other, or, indeed, to determine any civil, religious, or military matter, that has or may arise

within our town. This partial and extrajudical way of proceeding, we apprehend, will have a tendency to promote parties and divisions, (which have already too long harassed and convulsed this once peaceful town,) rather than that harmony and concord, so necessary to the welfare of all societies.

'But should we admit your right of acting as a committee of correspondence, we cannot suppose so great an absurdity as the counteracting your own vote and determination, without some sufficient reason. You must remember, that these matters were fairly discussed and settled by the gentlemen of the town in general, and the members of this club, and that by and with the consent, approbation, and vote of a majority of the now members of your committee. For at a meeting of a large and respectable number of the gentlemen of this town with the club at Old Colony Hall, on the sixth day of January last, for the very purposes of adjusting and settling the matters relative to the celebration of the ensuing anniversary, among whom were a major part of your committee, it was unanimously voted, 'that the club should write to the Rev. Mr. Turner, and request him to preach a sermon on the next 22d of December, &c.'—In consequence of which, the club wrote to Mr. Turner, and afterwards received his answer in the affirmative, (directed to the club,) as may also appear by our record. At the same meeting it was also moved, and agreed to, that, as the club were the original institutors, it was most proper for them to have the direction of the minute or lesser matters relative to the celebration. We are now, and always have been, ready and willing to concur with any measure which may conduce to the harmonious and agreeable celebration of this anniversary, in commemoration of the landing of our forefathers in this place. We think it ought to be, and we hope it ever will be, kept and observed by the gentlemen of this town, county, and colony socially, and like a band

of brethren,—nor would we contend for trifles or punctilios. But your plan and proceedings, without advising with or consulting the other gentlemen of the town, or the club, appear to us so great an invasion of the liberty and privileges of the gentlemen of the town of Plymouth, and the Old Colony Club, that we cannot approve or comply with the same.

'*Dec.* 1*st*, 1773.'

December 8.—At a meeting of Old Colony Club,

Voted, that the club, together with such gentlemen as please to join them from this or the neighboring towns, will dine together at Mr. Witherell's, upon the ensuing anniversary, and that the clerk of this club send a copy of this vote to the Rev. Mr. Turner and inform him that the club expect the pleasure of his company on that day.

Voted, that the club and their friends will spend the anniversary evening at the hall.

Voted, that the Rev. Mr. Bacon, and the Rev. Mr. Robbins, and all the social club, be invited to dine and spend the evening, as also such other gentlemen of the clergy as may be in town.

The reader cannot fail of being impressed with a sense of gratitude for the valuable reminiscences transmitted by the Old Colony Club; and it is a mattter of regret that its existence had not been protracted to a later period: but unfortunately, some of the members were attached to the royal interest and it was deemed expedient that the club, should be dissolved.

This society possessed a library and museum. Of the respectable members not one now survives.

Among their invited guests at various times we notice the following distinguished names, of high standing in the political and fashionable world.

John Adams, Robert T. Paine, Daniel Leonard, Col. Thomas Oliver, Richard Leachmur, Nathan Cushing, Peleg Wadsworth, William Sever, Benjamin Kent, Gen. John Winslow, and Dr. Charles Stockbridge.

1770. *Nonintercourse of English Goods.*—A large proportion of the respectable merchants of Boston came into a nonintercourse agreement against Great Britain, and sent circular letters to this and other towns for their co-operation. The town voted, March 26th, that they will contribute all in their power to support them in their laudable purpose of repelling tyranny and oppression; and voted the thanks of the town to the town of Boston for the firm and spirited opposition which they have made to the tyrannical attempts of the British government to enslave our country, and that we will at all times assist them in such vigorous and constitutional measures as they shall adopt for the preservation of our common rights. Voted also, that we will encourage and support the nonintercourse agreement, and will encourage frugality, industry, and the manufactures of our country, discouraging the use of foreign superfluities, particularly the article of foreign tea. A committee of inspection was chosen to inquire, from time to time, if any person should directly or indirectly contravene the above measures. Should any one be detected in importing goods, or of purchasing of those who import, their names are to be published in the newspapers, and to be reported to the next town meeting. It was at this period that governor Hutchinson, and his adherents, represented the party in opposition to British measures as only an uneasy factious few in Boston, while the body of the people were quite contented. Mr. Samuel Adams was thereby induced to visit James Warren, Esq. of this town, who proposed to originate and establish committees of correspondence in the several towns of the colony, in order to learn the strength of the friends to the rights of the continent, and to unite and increase their force. Mr. Adams returned to Boston, pleased with the proposal, and communicated the plan to his confidants. The measure was adopted, and thus originated our committees of correspondence, so essentially ser viceable to our cause.

1772. *November.*—A town meeting was called by desire of one hundred inhabitants, to take into consideration the alarming condition of our public affairs, occasioned by the violation of our rights and the repeated attacks made on our constitution by the British Parliament. They enumerated among their grievances, taxations without our consent, with extension of admiralty jurisdiction, with the quartering of soldiers in the town of Boston, the lawless insolence and murders they have committed,* with the contemptuous and unconstitutional treatment of our general court from time to time, making the governor independent of the people, and many other grievances from the memorable era of the stamp act. A standing committee of communication and correspondence, consisting of thirteen, was chosen to communicate freely with the town of Boston, and any other town on the subject of grievances, with liberty to apply to the selectmen at discretion to call town meetings.

1773. *December.*—Parliament having passed an act enabling the East India Company in London to export their teas to America, subject to an unconstitutional tax or tribute, the town resolved, that the dangerous nature and tendency of importing teas as proposed, subject to a tax upon us without our consent, is alarming, and ought to be opposed. And further, that the persons to whom the said India company have consigned their tea which they propose to send to Boston, have, by their endeavoring to accept of and execute their commission, forfeited that protection every good citizen is entitled to, and exposed themselves and their abettors to the indignation and resentment of all good citizens. That it is an affront to the common sense of mankind, and to the majesty of the people, who are, under God, the source from which is derived all power and majesty in every community, to assert, that any

* Alluding to the massacre of 5th of March, 1770.

meeting of the people to concert measures for their common security and happiness on every extraordinary and alarming occasion, is either unlawful or irregular, since no legislature could be supposed to establish rules of conduct in such cases as no man could ever suppose would take place in a free and good government. That the late meetings of a very large and respectable body of the inhabitants of Boston and other towns, and their determination at said meetings relative to the importation and reshipping of any teas that have or may be sent here subject to a duty on importation, were both necessary and laudable, and highly deserving the gratitude of all who are interested in, or wish the prosperity of America.

It was voted that we are in duty and gratitude bound, not only to acknowledge our obligations to the body who composed that meeting, for that noble, generous, and spirited conduct in the common cause, but also to aid and support them in carrying their votes and resolves into execution; and we will, at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, exert our whole force to defend them against the violence and wickedness of all our common enemies.

It appeared to be the firm determination of the inhabitants of this town, that so long as a compulsory tone was assumed by the parent country, so long the tone of defiance ought to be maintained by the patriotic people of the Provinces. 'For oppression will make a wise man mad.'

On Monday, 13th December, at the adjournment of the town meeting, Edward Winslow and others presented a protest against the resolves and proceedings of the last meeting, but the town voted not to have it read.

1774.—The inhabitants of the town, animated by the glorious spirit of liberty which pervaded the Province, and mindful of the precious relick of our forefathers, resolved to consecrate the rock on which they landed to the shrine of liberty. Col. Theophilus Cot-

ton, and a large number of inhabitants assembled, with about 30 yoke of oxen, for the purpose of its removal. The rock was elevated from its bed by means of large screws; and in attempting to mount it on the carriage, it split asunder, without any violence. As no one had observed a flaw, the circumstance occasioned some surprise. It is not strange that some of the patriots of the day should be disposed to indulge a little in superstition, when in favor of their good cause. The separation of the rock was construed to be ominous of a division of the British Empire. The question was now to be decided whether both parts should be removed, and being decided in the negative, the bottom part was dropped again into its original bed, where it still remains, a few inches above the surface of the earth, at the head of the wharf. The upper portion, weighing many tons, was conveyed to the liberty pole square, front of the meeting-house, where, we believe, waved over it a flag with the far-famed motto, 'Liberty or Death.'

1774.—At a town meeting, March 24th. As the committee of correspondence had not been altogether successful in preventing the sale of tea, it was resolved that whoever continues to sell, or shall for the future expose to sale, in this town, any India tea, is, and ought to be considered as an enemy to the rights of America and the constitution of the country. And we will have no intercourse or dealings with such persons, till there be a change in the circumstances of the country which will justify such conduct, and that we will consider as inimical to this country, all those who shall have any dealings with them.

August 15th, voted to return our sincere and hearty thanks to the town of Boston, for their patience and virtue under their present sufferings in the common cause of America, and also voted to choose a committee to collect all such sums of money, or articles that any persons will give in the town, for the support of the suffering poor of said town of Boston, to enable them still

to persevere with firmness and fortitude under their sufferings. Goods and provisions to a considerable amount were contributed in this town for the poor in Boston on this serious occasion.

Then voted, that whereas a certain publication in the Massachusetts Gazette, of July 14th last, purporting to be the cordial congratulations of the Justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the county of Plymouth, to his excellency Thomas Gage, Esq. on his appointment to the high office of first magistrate of this Province, &c. contains injurious reflections on, and *illiberal insinuations* concerning the body of the clergy, and the committees of correspondence in the several towns in this Province, as if the said commissioners had assumed a title and business without the appointment of their several towns, and had been encouraged and supported by the clergy in an unjustifiable influence on the people,—We, the inhabitants of the town of Plymouth, the shire town of said county, conceive it our duty to bear our testimony against said publication, its aiders and abettors, and therefore vote and resolve :

1. That we ourselves, and we conceive by far the greater part of the country, have a great respect for the clergy in this province, and the conduct of a majority of them relative to the political circumstances of the country. 2. That the committee of correspondence of this town, and we conceive those of the other towns where they subsist, were regularly appointed by their several towns for very valuable purposes, and have answered the expectations of their constituents, and are therefore entitled to countenance and respect from all men and bodies of men. 3. That the solemn league and covenants entering into, appear to us calculated to increase the honor and dignity of the sovereign, to promote the true interest of our parent country, and to restore the harmony of society.

Sept. 19th.—Chose a committee of nine to watch

and make discovery of any one importing or selling tea, and report to the committee of correspondence. Afterwards added ten more to the committee, and enjoined the strictest vigilance. Chose James Warren, Esq. and Isaac Lothrop, Esq. representatives, and the following instructions were given :—'Being apprehensive that the chief design of convening the general assembly at this unusual season of the year, is to make trial whether we will, in whole or in part, submit to the late acts of parliament respecting this Province, and it being our fixed sentiment that said acts are cruel, unjust and oppressive, subversive of our most sacred rights, we cannot in conscience advise to the least submission, but on the contrary, expect and desire our said representatives to oppose them to the utmost, in all proper ways and methods, strictly adhering to our charter rights and privileges : more particularly we enjoin them by no means to co-operate or act in concert with the new set of mandamus counsellors, whose appointment is founded on the destruction of our charter, which we hold sacred and inviolable in all its parts; and no power on earth has a right to disannul it, and God forbid that we should give up the inheritance of our fathers, or tamely submit to the efforts of despotism and the loss of freedom. And gentlemen, if in consequence of such opposition from you and others, the general assembly should be dissolved, or otherwise hindered from acting, we expect a Provincial Congress will be immediately formed, and that you will act as members of it; concerting such measures with our brethren of other towns, as will have the most effectual tendency to shake off the yoke of oppression, and prevent the operation of those acts of which we so justly complain.' A company of minutemen was raised and provided for by the town, about this time.

1775. *January.*—The awful crisis was evidently approaching, which should decide the momentous question whether the colonies were to be subjected to ab-

ject slavery, or their unalienable rights and liberties seemed upon a substantial foundation.

The magnanimity with which the inhabitants of this town encountered the hazardous contest, was not surpassed by any in the province, and few towns in New England were subjected to greater sacrifices. The cod fishery was almost the sole support of the town; seventy-five schooners were employed in that service in 1774, and it was well known that not a sail could pass from the harbor after the commencement of hostilities. The wealthiest merchants could anticipate nothing but the most mortifying embarrassments, and the poor could have no better prospect than starvation.

James Warren, Esq. and Isaac Lothrop, Esq. were chosen to represent the town in provincial congress, and the following were their instructions:—

'Gentlemen: You are chosen to represent us in provincial congress, at a time when we not only suffer, in common with our sister colonies, the evil effects of the tyranny of the British government, but when we have to struggle with additional difficulties and embarrassments peculiar to our situation here. Oppression has taken her principal residence, and is exerting her most strenuous efforts, aided and supported by mandamus counsellors, commissioners of the customs with all their tools and dependants, as perhaps are not to be paralleled in any other country under heaven, and these backed by a large naval and land force from Great Britain, for the purpose of effectually subduing this province, and reducing us to a state of vassalage and abject slavery,—while we, embarrassed with difficulties arising from a want of the exercise of the power of government, and by a suspension of executive justice, are unable to make any vigorous opposition. We are sensible of the many difficulties the congress have to encounter, and the important business they have to transact, and, among the rest, that very important

one of assuming the exercise and administration of civil government; this we presume to be a part of their business, because important, and, as we think, absolutely necessary to be done, and therefore, instruct you to use your endeavors to effect it. We admire the prudence, the patience, and, in short, the remarkable virtue of the people of this province, which alone for many months has supported that justice, peace, and good order, which has so generally prevailed; but we dare not hazard the remaining any longer in such a situation: feeble must be our efforts and precarious our happiness, while the first rests only on recommendations, without the sanction and penalties of laws to enforce them, and the last is exposed to the interested malice and collective strength of our enemies, encouraged by the weakness and temerity of some of our friends: we therefore, have thought it our duty, under these many and peculiarly difficult circumstances, to aid and assist you by our advice and instructions, and we do repeatedly enjoin it upon you, that, (unless you meet certain and undoubted intelligence that our grievances are or will immediately be redressed) you without delay unite your votes and influence for establishing a form of government as free, as stable, and vigorous, and in all respects as advantageous to the good people of this province as possible. That we may be able to defeat the designs of our enemies, and again sit down in peace and safety under our own vine and fig tree: leaving it, nevertheless, to your prudence and discretion, if any unforseen circumstance should take place, to act in such a way and manner as you shall think most beneficial to the interest of this province.'

Then voted, to choose a committee of vigilance to watch the conduct of tories, &c. It was voted to erect a fort on Cole's Hill, and great exertions were made to procure powder for the use of the town. Voted, that any person who shall fire at birds, contrary to the vote of the town, shall have their guns taken from them,

and their names entered on the list of offenders. The whole community was divided into two opposing political parties, designated by the epithets of whig and tory. The whigs forming an immense majority, were the ruling party. The operation of the laws was suspended; there was no efficient legal government, no legal tribunals in existence; the selectmen of towns and committees of safety were voluntarily acknowledged as the paramount authority. Although every individual claimed unrestrained liberty, few enormities were committed. But the poor tories, however honest in their views, were subjected to peculiar hardships; free liberty was not allowed to them. The modes of disciplining the tories were various and singular. The public authorities required a full recantation, and a declaration to that effect was published with their signatures in the newspapers. Some of the papers were crowded with these tory acknowledgments. When the populace assumed mob authority, the offenders were subjected to the greatest indignity. In some places they adopted a novel mode, which they called smoking the tories, which was done by confining them in a room with a fire and the top of the chimney covered. Sometimes a coat of tar and feathers was applied. It was not uncommon to transfer the punishment to the man's horse, by cropping his ears and shaving his tail. This town was not encumbered with an over proportion of disaffected people. Some, indeed, there were, who for years had enjoyed the emoluments and benefits of the royal government, and were not yet convinced that the fountain had become corrupt, and that meandering streams, impregnated with the foulest ingredients, were undermining the blessed heritage of their fathers. They were not prepared to absolve their consciences from the duties enjoined by the holy axiom, 'Fear God, and honor the king.' Another portion of this class of people, stood aloof from the duties and proceedings which the great crisis required, not so much

from unworthy or sinister motives, as from a timid and pusillanimous spirit, viewing the project of a warfare with so potent an antagonist as an herculean labor, far exceeding the abilities of those champions who had undertaken the tremendous experiment. They conceived that a single campaign would annihilate our army and resources, and all who appeared under the colonial standard would fall a sacrifice, as traitors and rebels. About ten or twelve inhabitants of this town were accused of being enemies to their country and were taken by warrants and arraigned before the town for examination, but, on rendering satisfactory assurance of peaceable behavior, were liberated.

A few of the obnoxious royalists abandoned their native town, but those who remained became peaceable citizens, and submitted to the general laws and proceedings. There were, however, a few instances of the turbulent and incorrigible being brought to the liberty pole, and compelled to subscribe to a recantation of sentiment. The town authority was not known to stain its reputation by any unjustifiable severities, or riotous proceedings. In one instance, however, an individual received some severe discipline from indiscreet persons. A man by the name of Dunbar, brought to the market a beef ox, which it was discovered had been slaughtered by a tory in town, who being a notorious offender against the ruling party, a number of persons assembled, enclosed Dunbar in the carcass, and tied the tripe round his neck, and he was, in that condition carted out of town. Subsequently to this catastrophe, Dunbar had the imprudence to appear again, on horseback. He was ordered to quit the town without delay, but, with a turbulent and obstinate air, he refused to obey. He was then tied on his horse, and escorted to some distance, during which he was so extremely outrageous as to suffer considerable injury, and at length a cart was procured, in which he was conveyed beyond the limits of the town.

In one instance, the tories in Barnstable availed themselves of liberty-pole discipline. Mr. C. and sons had rendered themselves odious to the people by their active zeal in the royal cause, and a vindictive temper towards the whig party; a widow woman frequently indulged herself in applying to them the epithet tory, and even intimated a liberty-pole exhibition. This indiscretion was not to be passed with impunity, a number of men in disguise entered her chamber in the night, took her from her bed, and after the application of tar and feathers, she was by a rope round her body hoisted almost to the top of the pole, which had been erected by the whigs. Her dreadful shrieks soon collected a throng of people, but the poor woman could obtain no other redress than that bestowed by her friends, who kindly shaved her head, and cleansed it of tar and feathers.

An innocent trick was devised by some persons in this town, which occasioned at that time a general surprise and agitation. An egg was produced with the following words imprinted on the shell by the artifice of some tories. '*O America, America, Howe shall be thy conqueror.*' The egg being taken from the hen roost of Mr. H. on Sunday morning, and exhibited to a concourse of people assembled for public worship excited the greatest agitation, and the meeting was for some time suspended. The tories affected to believe that the phenomenon was supernatural, and a revelation from heaven favoring their cause and predictions; and some whigs were ready to fall into the delusion, when one less credulous, observed that it was absurd to suppose that the Almighty would reveal his decrees to man through the medium of an old hen. Thus ended the farce; but the story of the egg was the subject of newspaper speculation in various parts of the country, and the alarm which it occasioned in the minds of some people here was truly astonishing.

In the year 1775, General Gage ordered a company

of king's troops, called the 'Queen's guards,' commanded by captain Balfour, to be stationed at Marshfield, for the protection of some royalists. Captain Balfour and his officers soon made themselves acquainted with the friends of the royal cause in this town. Their visits here were not pleasing to the tories, as the whig party was known to be in a state of such ferment, that a small spark might kindle a blaze, and create a fatal collision. They were, however, invited to dine with Edward Winslow, Esq., in the house in which I now write, in company with a number of respectable gentlemen of their party in town. Captain Balfour desired to have the opinion of the company present, on the expediency of marching his company of guards into Plymouth. In discussing the subject, one of the gentlemen, Mr. John Watson, was observed to be silent. Captain Balfour took him aside, and said, 'Mr. Watson, I observed that you gave no opinion respecting my proposal, I should be glad to have your opinion and advice on the subject.' Mr. Watson replied, 'It is my opinion that it will not be prudent to bring your company here, for the people are in a state of great excitement and alarm.' 'Will they fight?' says Balfour. 'Yes,' replied Watson, 'like devils.' On further consideration, the plan was wisely abandoned, from an apprehension of the consequences. Had the company marched into town, they would have found a large majority of its inhabitants proud of the seat and character of their ancestors, and determined to transmit them to posterity, that they may inhale with their earliest breath a love of liberty and the people's rights. Under such circumstances, it is highly probable that a collision would have taken place, and the first battle been fought at Plymouth instead of Lexington. While stationed at Marshfield, Captain Balfour and his officers frequently visited their friends at Plymouth. On one of these visits, umbrage was taken by some of the *watchful* sons

of liberty, one of whom asserted that an officer had menaced, with a drawn sword, an individual in the street: a numerous collection of people soon were prepared to avenge in a spirited manner the insult, whether real or pretended. The officer was obliged to retreat and enter an apothecary's shop occupied by Dr. Dix, a tory, for safety. The shop was soon surrounded, and the officer's sword peremptorily demanded. So resolute were the assailants that the sword was forced from the officer, and instantly cut into several pieces. These particulars have recently been related to the author by captain W. Weston, who was standing by at the time, and who preserved a piece of the sword, and thinks it may still be found. This, account is essentially confirmed by R. Cotton, Esq. and others who were present.

Capt. Balfour, with his company remained at Marshfield for several weeks unmolested, but the day after Lexington battle, governor Gage, apprised of their danger, took off his troops, by water, to Boston.

At this period minute companies were organized in town, and immediately on hearing of the bloodshed at Lexington, Col. Theophilus Cotton, of this town, marched to Marshfield with a detachment of militia under his command. There were at the same time about sixty fishing vessels with their crews on board at anchor in Plymouth harbor. The fishermen voluntarily left their vessels, and speedily marched to Marshfield with their arms, resolutely determined to attack the company of British troops. When arrived at Marshfield, their numbers had increased to near one thousand men, collected from the different towns, burning with the feelings of revenge: they might have surrounded and captured the whole company before they could get to their vessels, but were restrained by Col. Cotton, who it is said had received no orders for the attack. A company of fifty men belonging to this town was enrolled under the command of Capt. Nathaniel Morton, jr., who with other companies formed the de-

tachment under Col. Cotton, which, after the affair at Marshfield, marched to Roxbury and joined the provincial army stationed there, where they continued through the year. They formed a part of the detachment ordered to throw up entrenchments on the heights of Dorchester, on the 4th of March, 1776, where the author was present in the capacity of surgeon's mate. From this period, through the whole revolutionary war, this town contributed its full proportion of officers and men for the continental service, a considerable number of whom were victims to the cause of their suffering country; and it would be gratifying could their names be transmitted to posterity, but no research in the writer's power could effect the desirable object.

Col. Theophilus Cotton was the son of Josiah Cotton, Esq. of this town, noticed in page 147. He was a zealous and active whig and patriot, served some time in the provincial army, and died February, 1782, aged sixty-six, leaving many children; one only, the widow of Capt. Charles Dyer, is still living in this town.

The colonies were now involved in actual hostilities with one of the most powerful nations in Europe, whose fleets and armies were at our doors. Our means of defence scarcely adequate to a single exigency, and opposition was considered by many as the extreme of folly and presumption. But appealing to Almighty God for the justness of their cause, the people resolved to buckle on their armor, and the motto, *Liberty or Death*, was every where displayed on their banners. The colonies had virtually absolved themselves from all British authority and laws, and were, by that authority, declared to be in a state of actual rebellion.

1776.—The momentous subject of independence, from Great Britain now called forth all the wisdom of our councils, and demanded the united energies and co-operation of the whole people. Unanimity of sentiment, on a subject of such infinite importance, was

not to be expected. Some, even of the wisest and best patriots, were extremely reluctant to exchange a noble, ancient edifice, ever held in honor, for simple materials of a novel structure, liable to be deracinated by uncertain contingencies. But hear the high-toned voice of our town on this great occasion.

May 10.—Instructions to the town's representatives in Provincial Congress:—

'GENTLEMEN: We, in the most solemn manner, charge you, that you use all your influence, that you exert every power in you vested, in defence of the rights, the liberties, and property of the American colonies in general, and of this colony in particular, in opposition to the efforts of the proud and imperious court of Great Britain, which seems to be lost to all sense of justice, and determined to deluge all America in blood and carnage, unless we by a tame, unmanly submission, will put ourselves in their power, to be controlled by them as they please in all cases whatever. We, your constituents, resenting such insolent and notoriously unjust demands of the British parliament, and of their tyrannising king, instruct you; 1. That you, without hesitation, be ready to declare for independence on Great Britain, in whom no confidence can be placed, provided the honorable the continental congress shall think that measure necessary, and we, for our parts, do assure you, that we will stand by the determination of the continental congress in the important, and, as we think, necessary measure, at the risk of our lives and fortunes. 2. We wish you to use your influence, that such a form of government may be adopted as may appear most salutary, and which may bid fairest to ensure a permanent harmony to the colonies, and the real happiness and prosperity of America, to the latest posterity. In particular, we recommend it to you to use your influence, that executive and legislative offices in the government do not meet in the same person.

A British armed brig, commanded by Captain Dawson, appeared in our outer harbor, when two small privateers, one commanded by Captain Corban Barnes, the other by Captain Charles Dyer, both of this town, attempted to reconnoitre her; a number of shots were exchanged, but they finally separated without much damage on either side. A lady who was a staunch loyalist, a visiter here from Boston, was seen at her chamber window clapping hands and shouting huzza for Dawson. She was a few days after met in the street by Captain Barnes, who gave her a gross insult.

There is in Kingston a hill of great elevation, usually called Monk's Hill. In the early part of the war, a tall mast was erected on this hill, on the top of which was placed a barrel of tar and other combustibles, as a signal of alarm on the approach of the enemy. Captain Manly having captured a number of British prizes, made his appearance with other privateers like a formidable fleet in the bay. 'It is his majesty's fleet coming to burn the town,' said the tories. 'Fire the beacon and call in our country friends,' said the whigs. All was confusion and alarm, military music was heard in the streets, the minute-men were summoned to arms, and sentinels were posted at their stations. A man was dispatched to Monk's Hill to fire the tar-barrel, the light and smoke ascended to the clouds, and spread the alarm far and wide: soon the town was filled with armed men, who crowded into private houses, claiming to be fed as the defenders of the town, and were provided for accordingly. The agitation and bustle continued through the night, and in the morning the joyful tidings were proclaimed that the valiant Manly had entered the harbor with a number of valuable prizes! *

* The reader of Scott's novels will be reminded of the consternation produced among the good citizens of Fairport, by a similar mistake of Caxton and Edie Ochiltree.—*Antiquary, vol.* ii.

1777 and 1778. The town experienced unexampled privations and sufferings in consequence of the loss of commerce and fishery, the whole sea coast and harbor being completely obstructed by the British armed vessels. The seamen of the town were driven almost to despair, some of them engaged as soldiers in the continental army, others shipped on board of privateers, leaving their families destitute, while the vessels belonging to the town were perishing at the wharves. Here were numerous examples of poverty without hope of rèlief; the community embroiled in party excitements, families and friends at variance and the glorious cause of our country in a state of awful suspense; still, however, the noble spirit of patriotism remained unbroken, and the fortitude and patience of the majority of the people were truly remarkable.

At this distressing period, complaints were made against several of the most respectable inhabitants, as being inimical and disaffected to the common cause, as appears recorded in the towns book as follows.

'To Thomas Mayhew Esq, one of the justices of the peace of the county of Plymouth. I, the subscriber, clerk of the committee of correspondence, inspection and safety for the town of Plymouth, hereby represent to you as a justice of peace in the county aforesaid, that there is in the opinion of said committee sufficient reason to suspect that the following persons, naming them, nine in number, residing in said town of Plymouth, within the state of Massachusetts Bay, are inimical to the United States; and you are requested upon this representation to proceed immediately against the above named persons, agreeable to an act of said state, passed the present session of the general court, entitled an act for prescribing and establishing an oath of fidelity and allegiance. By order of the committee of correspondence, &c.

'Andrew Croswell, *Clerk.*

'*Plymouth, February* 11*th*, 1778.'

In consequence of the foregoing representation, Thomas Mayhew, Esq. issued his warrant to the sheriff of the county, to notify the several persons therein named to appear on the 12th day of February to take the oath prescribed, which he performed accordingly. The assemblage of people on this novel occasion was very numerous, and considerable excitement and agitation were manifested. The persons arrested were tories, but highly respectable; they were treated with lenity, and having complied with the requirements of the law were liberated, and subsequently found among our most peaceable and useful citizens.

1778. *December 26th and 27th.*—The inhabitants of this town were called to witness a catastrophe, truly appalling to humanity. The brig General Arnold, mounting 20 guns, having a crew of 105 men and boys, commanded by Captain James Magee, of Boston, sailed from that port on Thursday, 24th of December, bound on a cruise. On Friday, anchored off Plymouth harbor, being destitute of a pilot. In the night a heavy gale drove her on the White Flat. She soon filled with water and it became necessary to cut away the masts. Unfortunately, a great disturbance was occasioned by intoxication among some of the seamen in the steerage, which was with difficulty quelled by the officers. A tremendous storm of wind and snow came on, and a considerable number of men died on Saturday afternoon and in the night. Three men, not of the crew, being on board, took the yawl, and passed eight or ten rods to the ice, and were taken on board a schooner that was frozen in. Had the boat been returned as promised, many lives would have been saved.

Sunday morning, the vessel was seen in a most distressful situation, enveloped in ice and snow, and the whole shore was frozen to a solid body of ice, the winds and waves raging with such dreadful violence that no possible relief could be afforded to the misera-

ble sufferers. The inhabitants made every effort to reach the wreck in boats, but were obliged to put back, although aware that the seamen were in the arms of death, and when the miserable victims on board saw the boats returning leaving them in a condition of utter hopelessness, their spirits were appalled, and numbers were seen to fall dead on the deck. On Monday, the inhabitants passed over the ice to the wreck. Here was presented a scene unutterably awful and distressing. It is scarcely possible for the human mind to conceive of a more appalling spectacle. The ship was sunk ten feet in the sand, the waves had been for about thirty-six hours sweeping the main deck, the men had crowded to the quarter deck, and even here they were obliged to pile together dead bodies to make room for the living. Seventy dead bodies frozen into all imaginable postures were strewed over the deck, or attached to the shrouds and spars; about thirty exhibited signs of life, but were unconscious whether in life or death. The bodies remained in the posture in which they died, the features dreadfully distorted; some were erect, some bending forward, some sitting with the head resting on the knees, and some with both arms extended, clinging to spars or some parts of the vessel. The few survivors, and the dead bodies, were brought over the ice on sleds and boards, and the dead were piled on the floor of the court house, exhibiting a scene calculated to impress even the most callous heart with deep humility and sorrow. It has been said that the Rev. Mr. Robbins fainted when called to perform the religious solemnities. Those bodies that were to be deposited in coffins were first put into the town brook; a considerable number were seen floating on the water, fastened by ropes, that their form might be made to conform to the coffin. But about sixty were thrown into a large pit as they were taken from the vessel. This pit, is in a hollow on the southwest side of the burial ground,

and remains without a stone. The greater part of those who were found alive, expired soon after. Captain Magee survived, and performed several profitable voyages afterwards. He abstained entirely from drinking ardent spirits, but was of opinion that he was greatly benefited by putting rum into his boots. Those who drank rum were the more immediate victims, several being found dead in the very spot where they drank it. A man named Downs, belonging to Barnstable, was apparently dead, but on being seen to move his eyelids, was put into a vessel of cold water for several hours, by which he was resuscitated, but with the most exquisite pain. He lost both of his feet, but lived many years after. Among those who perished were Dr. Mann, of Attleborough, Dr. Sears, Captain John Russell, of Barnstable, commander of the marines, and Lieutenant Daniel Hall. The two last were buried in one grave on the south side of the burial hill. *Note.*—It should be observed that when persons are exposed to intense cold there is always a propensity to sleep, but the moment it is indulged it becomes the sleep of death.

1779.—At a meeting of the town, Resolved, as the laws enacted by our provident ancestors, with wonderful wisdom and sagacity, for the establishment and regulation of schools, have diffused an universal spirit of knowledge and inquiry, not to be met with in other states or kingdoms, and have been a great means, under Providence, of preserving this people from the shackles fabricated for them by a foreign power, and as the preservation of the freedom, health, and vigor of the state depends in a great measure, upon the strictest attention being paid to this institution: Resolved, that the school committee be ordered to provide (if such one be not already provided) an able an faithful master to keep the grammar school in this town, possessed of such qualifications as are required by law.

This town, was this year subjected to extreme diffi-

culty and expense in raising soldiers for the army, and supporting their families in their absence, having been reduced to the necessity of selling real estate and hiring money for that purpose. They retained nevertheless the true and inflexible principles of patriotism, still resolved to defend the noble fabric which our fathers reared, and that if the star of their country's glory must set, its setting should be marked with the avenging hand of the oppressed. The inhabitants were divided into classes; each class was required to furnish one able-bodied man, to serve for a specified term in the continental army. The demand for such service, besides the common bounty allowed by congress, was very exorbitant, and on some occasions it was stipulated that the compensation should be paid in silver money; the paper currency had become so depreciated that no confidence could be placed in its value. At one period, a silver dollar would purchase one hundred in paper. A farmer in a neighboring town sold a cow in the spring for forty dollars, and in the next autumn he paid the whole sum for a goose for a thanksgiving dinner.

The whole Plymouth Bay and harbor were almost constantly infested with small picaroons, called '*shaving mills.*' One of these approached the shore at Manomet Ponds, on a Sunday, by which the town was so much alarmed that a company of militia, with a piece of cannon, marched to that place for the protection of the inhabitants, and on this occasion, as well as on several others, the people in that parish carried their fire-arms into the meeting house on the sabbath to be prepared for defence, and were firmly determined to resist to the uttermost every attack.

1781.—The town was reduced to the necessity of remonstrating to the general court, that, from the many peculiar difficulties which they labored under, by reason of the war they were unable to pay the taxes, and to procure the soldiers clothing and provisions required of them, and praying for an abatement or remission of the

same. The town voted to instruct their representative, Major Joshua Thomas, to use his influence that the general court make application to the congress, that our commissioners for negotiating a peace make it an article of indispensable necessity, that the fishery be restored to us, as being of the greatest importance to the town, having hitherto depended on it for support.

1782.—Capt. Horatio Nelson, afterwards Lord Nelson, commander of the British ship, the Albemarle, having taken a small schooner of 35 tons, in the bay, belonging to Plymouth, after she had been used as a tender for some days, Capt. Thomas Davis, of this town, owner of the vessel, encouraged by the representations given by Nathaniel Carver, master of the vessel, (who with the crew had been liberated,) of the character and deportment of Captain Nelson, went on board, Captain Carver accompanying him. Some vegetables and fruit, which had been hastily collected after the frigate appeared in view of the town, were presented, and the vessel was generously restored, and a certificate was given by Captain Nelson that she was released. We honor the noble spirited hero who displays the qualities of humanity and benevolence.

1783.—This year is remarkable for a happy termination of the horrors of war, which had for eight years been an awful scourge to our country.

Through the goodness of Divine Providence, liberty and independence were obtained, and no one of the present age, or of future generations can lament the immense sacrifices which were made in the holy cause. From this era, the United States of America claim existence among the nations of the world, and no people ever advanced with more rapid strides to pre-eminence in national glory and importance.

On the first of January this year, the present author having terminated his services of seven and a half years in the American army, became a private citizen, and in March following commenced his professional career

in the town of Plymouth. After having suffered the ravages and privations incident to a war of eight years continuance, the inhabitants of this town, in common with the general community, welcomed the return of peace with emotions of unfeigned gratitude and joy. Not a few had to lament the loss of friends; all were sufferers in their pecuniary interests, but the mighty boon obtained was deemed more than a sufficient remuneration for every sacrifice and privation. The town was reduced to a state of destitution, their navigation almost annihilated, a renewal of their former means of support was very precarious, and the taxes were now very heavy.

1785.—The town has been called to deplore the death of an estimable fellow-citizen, Capt. Thomas Davis, who died March 7th, aged 63 years. He was the head of the respectable firm of Davis & Spooner, for many years noted for probity and correctness in their mercantile transactions, and for integrity and benevolence of character. Capt. Davis left six sons and one daughter; the latter, Sarah, married Le Baron Bradford, son of Lieut. Governor Bradford, of Bristol, R. I. Her only son Le Baron, still survives. The sons of Capt. Davis were Thomas, (see page 229;) William, (page 270;) John, now Judge of the District Court in Boston, and President of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Samuel, (page 274;) Isaac and Wendell; the latter was by profession a lawyer, and was Sheriff of the county of Barnstable, and died at Sandwich, 1831. His remains are deposited among his relatives in our burial ground.

1786.—This year is memorable for an alarming insurrection, instigated by Daniel Shays, which occasioned the greatest commotion throughout the New England States. There were, in almost every town, some who encouraged the insurgents; but in Plymouth, not an individual appeared openly to advocate their vile proceedings. The town instructed its representative to the

general court, to use his influence to have suitable measures adopted for the removal of all grievances, and to quiet the minds of the people.

That he oppose the emission of paper money, and discourage the importation of foreign superfluities, and articles of British manufacture, &c.

A detachment of the militia of this town was ordered to march to Taunton, to oppose the insurgents in their audacious purpose of preventing the sitting of the court of common pleas in that place. General Nath'l. Goodwin marched at the head of a large detachment of militia from this and other towns. The writer of this article accompanied the expedition in the capacity of surgeon. A very formidable collection of insurgents made their appearance, and arrayed themselves in a menacing attitude on Taunton Green. General David Cobb, judge of the court at that place, assumed the command of the militia, and declared that he would on that day 'sit as a judge, or die as a general.' The result was a total dispersion of the insurgents without bloodshed.

Among the intrepid patriots who distinguished themselves in the naval service during our revolutionary contest, was Simeon Sampson, Esq. 'He was born in Kingston in the year 1736. In youth he began a seafaring life, and performed many important voyages in the employment of the merchants of Plymouth. In the year 1762, Mr. Sampson was taken prisoner by the French, in a vessel belonging to Goodwin & Warren, which was redeemed by the captain for a large sum of money, and Mr. Sampson was left as a hostage for the payment of the ransom. From this imprisonment he escaped by assuming the dress of a female, and was soon restored to his family in Plymouth.

At the commencement of the revolutionary war, when a marine force was deemed necessary to protect our commerce from the depredations of the British cruisers; he was honored by the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts with the appointment of the first naval

captain in the service of the country. He immediately took the command of the brig Independence, belonging to the colony, and which was built at Kingston, under his direction. In this vessel, he was eminently successful, and in one cruise captured and sent in five prizes, among which was the Roebuck, Captain White, in the autumn of the year 1776. Immediately after this, he himself was captured by Capt. Dawson, of distinguished memory in these seas. Capt. Sampson did not surrender, until after an engagement of as severe and bloody character perhaps as is recorded in the annals of naval warfare. The skill and intrepidity manifested by him was applauded even by his enemies. Had he been sustained by all his men, he would undoubtedly have been the conqueror, rather than the vanquished. It is said in the gazette of that period, that he was driven to the awful necessity of running through the body two or three of his men, who abandoned their guns in the most trying moment of the conflict. One of these victims was his third lieutenant. Soon after his return from captivity, which was at Fort Cumberland, near Halifax, he was appointed commander of the brig Hazard, a public vessel belonging to the state. In this vessel he likewise took several prizes, among which was the ship Live Oak. In 1779 he was selected to the command of the packet ship Mercury, built at Plymouth, by Mr. John Peck, for Congress. She was employed to carry dispatches to our ministers in France. In this ship he returned from Nantz during the severe winter of 1780. Soon after which he was promoted to the command of the Mars, a larger ship, likewise belonging to the state, and in this vessel he was employed in the most responsible trust, in carrying dispatches, and in one cruise carried out one of our ministers to Europe. The British flag ship Trial was captured by him while in the Wars. At the close of the war, he retired like most of the faithful servants of our coun-

try, with a very scanty estate, and a numerous family dependent upon him for support.

In 1788, Capt. Sampson disposed of his mansion in Middle street in Plymouth, and purchased a farm in Plimpton, where he terminated his earthly career by an apoplexy, June 22d, 1789, at the age of 53 years. He was buried upon his own farm, and afterwards his body was removed to the burying hill in Plymouth, where his grave is marked by an appropriate head stone.

Few naval officers stood higher in public estimation, few citizens more respected for domestic virtues, hospitality and generous friendship.

In 1759, Capt. Sampson married Deborah Cushing, daughter of Seth Cushing, of Hingham, who survived him many years. She died at Homer, New York, in 1830, at the advanced age of 90 years.

The ancestors of Capt. Sampson will be found among those who were distinguished in the Old Colony. His father was Peleg Sampson, a principal owner of the iron works at Middleborough, which were suppressed by the Crown. He was born in 1700, was a son of Isaac Sampson, who was born in 1660, and died in 1726. He married Lydia Standish, daughter of Alexander, and grand-daughter of Capt. Miles Standish and John Alden, two of the Mayflower pilgrims. The descendants of Capt. Sampson are not numerous. He left 5 children. 1. Lydia, the wife of William Goodwin who died 1715. 2. Deborah, the wife of Rev. E. Briggs, and now the widow Goodwin. 3. Mercy, wife of Major Levi Bradford. 4. George W. Sampson, and 5. Maria, wife of Rev. Mr. Johnson. The four last still survive, and reside with their families, in the western part of the state of New York.' J. G.

1793.—The inhabitants of this town celebrated the victories of the French Republic over their invaders by a grand civic festival. An animating address was de-

livered on the occasion by Rev. Dr. C. Robbins which was published.

This year the town acted in accordance with the town of Boston, respecting the measures of neutrality, as recommended by President Washington.

1794.—Mrs. Elizabeth Russell, the lady of Hon. Thomas Russell, merchant of Boston, presented a bell to the town of Plymouth, the place of her nativity; on which occasion a vote of thanks was passed, and presented in very handsome terms. This bell was imported from England, was finely toned, and weighed about five hundred and sixty-four pounds. It was unfortunately broken in the year 1801, when another was presented to the town, of Col. Revere's manufacture, weighing about eight hundred pounds, which is still in use. The first notice of a bell in Plymouth is in 1679, probably the first used in New England.

In 1799 a singular accident occurred in town, which gave me considerable employment. The frame of a house belonging to Capt. John Paty was erected, two stories high in front and three back, the ground falling away considerably in the rear. When the frame was put together, and from thirty to forty men were, most of them, on the highest floor and the roof, from some cause the whole frame fell to the ground on the lower side. This accident might have been fatal to numbers but it is remarkable that no one was killed, and but one bone fractured; twenty-one were wounded, more or less severely, but all recovered.

1800. *Death of Washington.*—The reader may here be reminded that on the 14th December, 1799 the illustrious and beloved Washington paid the debt of nature, and that, throughout the United States, all classes of people mourned the event, as a great national calamity. It was recommended by the public authorities that the 22d February, 1800, his birth day, be consecrated, by the whole community to the remembrance of the saviour of our country. Our town authorities di-

rected the appropriate arrangements. All business was suspended, stores and shops were closed, the shipping in the harbor displayed emblems of mourning, divine service was performed in the sanctuary, where Rev. Mr. Kendall delivered a well-adapted sermon, which was published. Grief and sorrow were depicted on every countenance, and the whole people appeared unitedly, as one family, bewailing the death of its common father.

December 13.—Died in this town, Col. George Watson. 'The lives and deaths of but few men are more truly *enviable* than Col. Watson's. By an uniform dignity of manners, and uprightness of conduct, he preserved the respectability of his family, unsullied to the grave. From early life he entertained an invincible abhorrence of these excesses, which, while they enfeeble the constitution, make destructive inroads in the order of families, and harmony of society. In the meridian of his days and amidst the multifarious concerns and solicitudes of commercial business, he formed a just estimate of the scenes *fleeting before him*, and looked forward to an inheritance *eternal in the heavens*. Becoming a member of the most ancient church of Christ in New England, he was exemplary in his observance of all the institutions of its primitive founders. Blessed with affluence, he was always ready to indulge the benevolent propensities of his nature in affording relief to the indigent and necessitous. But the best eulogy is the spontaneous tribute of respect paid to his remains by the inhabitants of Plymouth, at a town meeting convened in consequence of his death, and is as follows:—

December 5.—At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town, the following vote was passed: Whereas, it has pleased the sovereign Disposer of all events to remove from us, by death, our beloved fellow citizen and fellow townsman, George Watson, Esq., who from his unbending rectitude and conscientious punctuality as a merchant, from his liberal hospitality and diffusive be-

nevolence as a man, from the graces of his behavior, as a gentleman, and from the lustre of his example as a christian, displayed with undeviating constancy in a long life, was justly held in the most respectful estimation by an extensive circle of friends, and by all classes of his fellow men, while his amiable partialities for his native town, the persevering assiduity with which he discharged its most important public offices, and the deep interest he invariably took in its happiness and prosperity, has engraven his name in the affections of its inhabitants, in characters that no time can efface. Prompted by their high sensibility to exhibit on this melancholy occasion every testimonial of respect for the venerable dead, and as an incitement to the imitation of such pre-eminent virtues,—Voted, 1. That on the day of the interment of George Watson, Esq., the selectmen be requested to direct the sexton to toll the bell, commencing at sunrise and continue three hours. 2. That it be recommended to the inhabitants to suspend their usual business in the streets, by shutting up their shops, stores, &c. from two o'clock, P. M. till the funeral is over. 3. That it be recommended to the owners of shipping in the harbor to place their flags half mast high, in token of mourning during the day of interment.

The lamented subject of the above eulogium was of an ancient and honorable family; he died at the advanced age of 83 years. Rev. Mr. Kendall preached a sermon on occasion of his death, which was printed.

In person, Col. Watson was portly and well proportioned, his countenance noble and placid, and his whole mien truly dignified. His urbanity and courtesy will long be remembered by all who enjoyed his acquaintance. He owned, and resided in the house on the south side of North street, now belonging to Mr. Abraham Jackson. The beautiful range of linden trees in front and rear of his house, he cultivated with peculiar pleasure, and delighted himself under their refreshing shade.

His children were three daughters. Mary married Elisha Hutchinson, Esq., son of the governor, and died in England before her father. Sarah, who still survives in Boston, married Martin Brimmer, Esq., Elizabeth married Hon. Thomas Russell, Esq., merchant in Boston. After his decease she married Sir Grenville Temple, and died at Rome about 1806, leaving three children.

1802.—William Thomas, a physician of extensive practice in Plymouth for more than half a century, was born in Boston in the year 1718, and died in 1802. He was a descendant in the sixth generation from Wm. Thomas, of Welsh extract, who arrived in the colony, and settled in Marshfield about 1630. He was in the medical staff in the hazardous and successful enterprise against Louisburg in 1745, and at Crown Point in 1758. Dr. Thomas took a very zealous part in the disputes with the mother country, that issued finally in independence. After the first blow was struck in the battle of Lexington, in 1775, he immediately joined himself and his family, consisting of four sons, viz. Joshua, Joseph, John and Nathaniel, to the first formed revolutionary corps. The first named of the sons was *aid de camp* to Gen. Thomas, in the expedition to Canada in 1776, and after the peace judge of probate for the county of Plymouth. Joseph and John continued in the service during the war, the first, captain of artillery, and the last in the medical staff. On the peace, John established himself at Poughkeepsie, in the state of New York, in the practice of his profession, and died in 1818, leaving a son and daughter. The other sons were settled in Plymouth—beside these there was a daughter, who married a gentleman by the name of Brick, and settled in Charlestown, N. Hampshire. Dr. Wm. Thomas was thrice married. The children named above were by the second wife, whose maiden name was Bridgham.

December 22.—This anniversary of the landing of

our Pilgrim fathers on our shore was celebrated in appropriate style, by an oration by Hon. John Quincy Adams, Esq. The interesting occasion and the celebrity of the orator drew together an immense assembly. The firing of cannon and the military parade preceded the assembling of the people. The oration by Mr. Adams was a masterly piece of composition, rarely exceeded, and the eloquence displayed by the speaker impressed the audience with sensations of delight. An elegant public dinner was provided, and was followed by songs and toasts, and a ball closed the evening.

1803.—A committee was chosen by the town to inquire into the circumstances of the Indian lands in this town. They reported that the number of acres is 2,683, valued at $14,140. The number of Indians in town were fourteen males and thirty-five females, with about 15 children under age. This land lies on the borders of Sandwich, at a place called Herring Pond.

1805.—The ship Hibernia, Captain Andrew Farral, owner and commander, was wrecked on our beach January 28th. She sailed from Boston on the 26th instant, and being overtaken by a violent cold storm, was driven on the beach in the night. The Captain and five of the seven seamen perished, and were buried together on our burial hill, where a stone is erected with a suitable inscription. Captain Farrall was aged 38 years, and was of respectable connexions in Ireland.

January 21*st.*—Died in Boston Hon. Thomas Davis, Esq. He was born in Plymouth, 1756, and was the son of Captain Thomas Davis. He received a good school education, which he completed under Alexander Scammell. Under this gentleman he not only acquired the rudiments of useful knowledge, but formed those habits of method, reflection and perseverance which marked his future life. Destined for commerce, while a youth, important concerns devolv-

ed upon him, in whose management he discovered that intelligence, integrity and assiduity, which promised and secured success in enterprise. He mingled with the engagements of his busy avocation, inquiries into practical science, and became well versed in the history and principles of commerce, and the sound maxims and rational theories of government. The derangement of the municipal concerns of his native town, first induced him to engage in public affairs. Impoverished by the war, and embarrassed by the perplexities which as often result from futile expedients as real distress, it required an intelligent, active, and persevering mind, to restore harmony, hope and enterprise. Mr. Davis effected it by his natural arrangements. He insisted on simplicity, order and punctuality. The result was credit and prosperity. His exertions and success acquired him the confidence of his townsmen, and produced an attachment which has ever been reciprocated. At an early age he was elected a representative of his native town to the general court, and for many years was continued in that station. From this period his whole life has been devoted to public concerns. In 1789, he was a member of the Convention to decide on the Federal Constitution. In 1792, he was elected a senator of this Commonwealth, by the county of Plymouth, and the same year was chosen the treasurer of the state, in which office he was continued during the constitutional term. On retiring from the treasury, he was twice elected a senator for the county of Suffolk, when he was unanimously chosen the first president of the Boston Marine Insurance Company, in 1799, which office he held until his death. He was a member of the Humane Society and the Boston Dispensary. He declined also many honorary and responsible stations, from those principles which induced his acceptance of others. Always in public life, Mr. Davis retired from the notoriety of a public character. He

did not take the post of honor for public observation, but for the public good.

The treasury of the Commonwealth, at the time of the appointment of Mr. Davis to its direction, owing to our state debt, the emission of paper, our national depression after the peace, and the deficits in the collectors, was in a most chaotic state. The importance of public credit to our peace, honor, and prosperity, induced him to undertake the arduous task of bringing order out of confusion. His comprehensive mind embraced the whole extent of national obligation and national resource. Our debt was funded on his system, in which there are some of the peculiarities of genius which knows how to apply general principles with their exceptions. A sinking fund was established for its gradual discharge, which has been successful in its operations. A methodical arrangement was adopted in the treasury, and a strict punctuality faithfully observed and rigidly exacted. Our credit revived, our finances proved adequate to our demands, which in the infancy of a civil establishment is not always proportionate to its ability; and at the close of Mr. Davis's constitutional term, his report of the state of the treasury secured him the thanks and approbation of those who best knew the extent of his services, while his successors by pursuing his plans, afford additional evidence of their excellence.

As President of the Boston Marine Insurance Company he displayed the whole of his character. His prudence and judgment in the investment of their capital, his knowledge of the principles which applied to his office, and his justice and liberality in the adjustment of controversies, rendered him a director, counsellor and judge. As an evidence of almost unexampled confidence in his judgment and integrity, notwithstanding his interest in this corporation, most of the disputes that originated in the office were referred to his sole decision. He exerted here his usual assiduity,

investigation and perseverance, and from a studious inquiry into the laws of insurance in all countries and ages, his opinions on this most intricate and perplexing branch of jurisprudence were respected, not only by the mercantile world, but by advocates of professional eminence.

His intellectual and moral character was endeared by his social and generous feelings. Through the silence of thought, and the reserve of prudence, were visible the affections of his soul; and the irrefragable evidence of his amiable and friendly disposition is found in the warmest attachment of a numerous acquaintance. His charity was as diffusive as his mind was active, and his friends knew that he was a man who denied the sufferer 'nothing but his name.' When it is added to this that religion was the base and crown of his virtue, we must readily admit that his friends have not been too partial, and the world but just in their affection, confidence and praise.

1806. *December* 22.—This is the 186th anniversary of the first landing of our puritan fathers. The glorious day which should be commemorated by the latest posterity as the day when the civil and religious independence of our country was germinated, in the exalted characters and manly virtues of the passengers of the Mayflower. The inhabitants of this town, and those from neighboring towns entered into the appropriate religious solemnities with hearts glowing with gratitude, to unite in the merited tribute of respect to our renowned sires. The discourse was delivered by Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., of Cambridge, from the words, 'Where are the fathers?' A discourse coming from a learned divine whose soul is imbued with the spirit of the puritans, was exceedingly animating; interesting associations were revived, and a due sense of duty to God and gratitude to our fathers awakened and illustrated. A hymn, composed by Dr. Holmes for the occasion, was sung to the tune of Old Hundred,

being read line by line by Deacon Spooner. The services being closed, the company retired to a public social festival. A respectable number of ladies of this town, accompanied by strangers, associated together to partake of a dinner prepared for them in the hall over the Plymouth bank.

1808.—The enforcement of the embargo law occasioned great suffering throughout our commercial community. Navigation was entirely suspended, our harbors were crowded with dismantled vessels, and our seamen were deprived of employment, and the means of supporting their families.

April.—The town passed a by-law, as follows, that if any person should be found smoking a cigar or pipe in any of the streets, lanes, wharves, yards, or barns, in this town, he or they shall forfeit and pay the sum of $1 for every such offence, to be recovered by the firewards, or any other person, that shall prosecute and sue for the same, before any justice of the peace for the county of Plymouth, to be applied to the use of the poor of said town; and that parents, and guardians, and masters of minors, shall be liable to pay the fine above said for their children, wards, or apprentices, who shall offend in this particular.

August.—A meeting of the town was called, by the request of 163 inhabitants, to present a petition to president Jefferson to take off the embargo. It was not uncommon to see seamen thronging the wharves, cursing the embargo, and the authors of it. They petitioned Mr. Jefferson that it might be taken off, if in his power, or that congress might be called together for the purpose. The petition expressed the deplorable situation to which the town was reduced, deprecating the policy of the measure and the horrid consequences of it, and closing thus ;—' Prohibitory laws that subject the citizens to grievous privations and sufferings, the policy of which is at least questionable, and the temptations to the violations of which from the na-

ture of man, are almost irresistible, will gradually undermine the morals of society, and introduce a laxity of principle and contempt of the laws, more to be deplored than even the useless waste of property.

From these, and other weighty considerations, your memorialists pray the president wholly or partially to suspend the embargo laws, if his powers are competent to that object, and if not, to convene congress at an early period that an immediate repeal of them may be obtained.

To the above manly and decided petition, Mr. Jefferson returned an answer, the purport of which is: 'To have submitted our rightful commerce to prohibitions and tributary exactions from others, would have been to surrender our independence. To resist them by arms was war, without consulting the state of things or the choice of the nation. The alternative preferred by the legislature, of suspending a commerce placed under such unexampled difficulties, besides saving to our citizens their property and our mariners to their country, has the peculiar advantage of giving time to the belligerent nations to revise a conduct, as contrary to their interest as it is to our own rights. In the event of such peace, or suspension of hostilities, between the belligerent powers of Europe, or of such change in their measures affecting neutral commerce, as may render that of the United States sufficiently safe, in the judgment of the president, he is authorized to suspend the embargo; but no peace, or suspension of hostilities, no change of measures affecting neutral commerce, is known to have taken place. In fact, we have no information on which prudence would undertake a hasty change in our policy, even were the authority of the executive competent to such a decision. I should with great willingness have executed the wish of the inhabitants of Plymouth, had peace, or a repeal of the obnoxious edicts, or other changes produced the cause in which alone the laws have given me the authority, and so many motives of justice and interest lead to such

changes, that we ought continually to expect them ; but while these edicts remain, the legislature alone can prescribe the course to be pursued.'

July 25.—Died Isaac Lothrop, Esq., aged 73 years. He was born at Plymouth, December 11, 1736, and was the eldest of five children of Isaac Lothrop, Esq. mentioned in page 175. He was educated a merchant, but from the year 1778 he confined himself to his official duties as register of probate for the county, which office he retained till his death. The unbending uprightness that marked his conduct in this office, the ability and gentlemanly manner with which he discharged the duties of it, will long be remembered with affectionate respect. He cherished with lively ardor a natural fondness for antiquity ; and so exalted was his veneration for the pious planters in New England, who first landed in this town, that he delighted in tracing their every footstep, and the minutest circumstances of their history were treasured in his mind. Hence, soon after the institution of the Historical Society, he was elected a member, and among the earliest members of the Humane Society he enrolled his name. In his friendships he was steady, ardent, sincere ; undisguised in his feelings, and removed from the least tincture of duplicity, his bosom was the sacred depository of confidential intercourse. If his prejudices were strong, they were invariably pointed at what he devoutly believed to be profligacy in principle, or dishonesty in practice. Such in fine was Mr. Lothrop's scrupulous integrity, such his thorough detestation of every species of iniquitous, or even temporising procedure, that the inscription on the tombstone of his beloved father, would be an appropriate one for his own. (See page 175.)

Hon. James Warren.—This gentleman, a lineal descendant of Richard Warren, who came over in the Mayflower, was born in Plymouth in the year 1726, and was the son of James Warren, who held the office

of sheriff of the county of Plymouth, under the royal government. Having graduated at Harvard college, in 1745, he directed his attention to commercial affairs, and became a respectable merchant; after the death of his father, who left him a handsome estate, he was appointed to the office of sheriff, which he retained until the commencement of the war with Great Britain. In May, 1766, he was chosen a member of the general court from Plymouth, and he uniformly supported the rights of his country against the pretensions of parliament. His education, abilities, and integrity, eminently qualified him to stand forth at a crisis, when talent, principle, and energy were required to devise and execute measures of resistance with unshaken firmness. He has the reputation of originating, in conjunction with Samuel Adams, the plan of *committees* of *safety* and *correspondence* in the various towns and counties, in the year 1773; and he was himself, that year chosen a member of this committee in his native town.* He was, in 1775, chosen a member of the provincial congress, and, immediately after the death of Gen. Joseph Warren, he was appointed his successor, as president of that honorable body. While the army lay at Cambridge, in 1775, he was made paymaster general, but in the following year, when the troops marched to New York, he resigned. In 1776, he was appointed Major General of the militia of Massachusetts, but never acted in that capacity. After the formation of the constitution of this state, he was, for many years, speaker of the house of representatives. He was

* In regard to the participation of Gen. Warren in originating the system of committees of safety and correspondence, as related in the histories of the war, by both Dr. Gordon and Mrs. Warren, and copied into Marshall's Life of Washington, the fact is denied by Samuel A. Wells, Esq. He asserts that, from the most thorough investigation he has ascertained that General Warren had no share whatever in originating those committees; but that Samuel Adams was the original proposer, and is alone entitled to the honors.

elected lieut. governor under Hancock, in 1780, but declined the office, as he did, also, that of judge of the supreme court, to which he had been appointed. He accepted, however, from congress, the appointment of commissioner of the navy board, at that time an arduous and responsible office, in which he served for some time. During the whole course of the revolution, he possessed, in a high degree, the confidence, not only of his fellow citizens in his native town, but, also, of many distinguished members of congress and other public agents, by whom he was habitually consulted, and his opinions treated with great respect. His correspondence was extensive, and much of it, we believe is still preserved.

At the close of the war, General Warren retired from public employment to enjoy domestic ease and leisure, and devoted the remainder of his life principally to agricultural improvements on his farm, and to the cultivation of the virtues best becoming an exemplary and respected private citizen. He was drawn from his retirement, however, for a short period, to accept a seat in the council, and again, in 1804, when he performed the last act of his long labors for the public, in the discharge of the duty of an elector of president, giving his vote for Mr. Jefferson.

General Warren resided, for some some years during the war, at the splendid seat at Milton, formerly belonging to Governor Hutchinson,* but returned to his former mansion in Plymouth, at the corner of North street, where he died, November 28th, 1808, aged eighty-two years, venerable from his age, and the valuable services rendered to his country in the darkest and most trying periods of its history.

General Warren married the daughter of the Hon. James Otis, of Barnstable, and sister to the celebrated patriot and orator of that name. This lady was the

* The famous *Hutchinson letters* were carried to General Warren's house, and read confidentially, before they were published.

author of a history of the war, and was, with her husband, a strenuous advocate of the principles of the revolution, and, subsequently, of the Jefferson administration and politics. She survived her husband about six years, and died in 1814, at the age of eighty-six.

They left two sons, James, who was, for several years, postmaster here, and Henry, who, for many years, held the office of collector for the district of Plymouth, and died July 6th, 1828, aged sixty-four years. This gentleman will long be remembered for his social qualities, his hospitality, and his gentlemanly deportment.

1809.—The town voted to petition the state legislature, that they devise and pursue such measures as their judgment shall dictate, to relieve the people from the severe pressure under which they are suffering from the embargo laws.

1812. *July.*—At a meeting of the town, on account of the momentous aspect of our public affairs, occasioned by an impending war, particularly distressing and ruinous to this section of our country, voted to memorialize the president on its impolicy and injustice, and to protest against an alliance with despotic France, whose friendship, more than its enmity, has been fatal to every other republic on the globe.

The town was unanimous for peace and not for war.

The memorial to the president was couched in respectful, yet firm language, reprobating the whole system of commercial restrictions, by embargo and war, as absolutely ruinous to the best interest of our country, particularly the Eastern States. They entreat the president to interpose his power and influence to rescue them from scenes of horror, from the near prospects of which, hope, the solace of the wretched, flies away, and which, in their apprehensions, will endanger the existence of the social compact; praying him to avert the host of calamities that in repeated succession must follow a war with Great Britain.

When hostilities had actually commenced the memorial proceeds to reprobate the measure in the following strong language :—Thus, Sir, with much brevity, but with a frankness that the magnitude of the occasion demands, they have expressed their honest sentiments upon the existing offensive war against Great Britain, a war by which their dearest interest as men and christians is deeply affected, and in which they deliberately declare, as they cannot conscientously, so they will not have any voluntary participation. They make this declaration with that paramount regard to their civil and religious obligations, which becomes the disciples of the Prince of Peace, whose kingdom is not of this world, and before whose impartial tribunal presidents and kings will be upon a level with the meanest of their fellow men, and will be responsible for all the blood they shed in wanton and unnecessary war. Impressed with these solemn considerations, with an ardent love of country and high respect for the union of the states, your memorialists entreat the president immediately to begin the work of peace, with that unaffected dignity and undisguised sincerity, which distinguished one of your illustrious predecessors, and they have the most satisfactory conviction, that upright, sincere efforts will secure success, while the land is undefiled with the blood of its citizens, and before the demon of slaughter, thirsting for human victims, 'cries havoc and lets slip the dogs of war.' The town then passed several resolves, expressing, in the most unequivocal language, their disapprobation of the war. They then passed a resolution, disapproving of the conduct of the representative of the district in congress, who advocated all the obnoxious war measures, and voted for the war,—which resolution, they voted, should be sent to the said representative.

The arch stone bridge, over the town brook, was this year completed.

1813.—The ship Sally, belonging to Boston, put

into this port from Canton, having, as passenger, a Chinese gentleman, Mr. Washey. He was a young man, tall and comely, but of dark complexion, of mild aspect and pleasing manners. He attended public worship on the sabbath, and being habited in the costume of his country, attracted great attention.

1814.—Being in a state of war with Great Britain, and the harbor and town constantly exposed to the attacks of British ships and barges, application was made to the towns of Kingston and Duxbury to unite in measures of defence for the harbor, which was complied with. A committee of vigilance and safety was appointed, and a night watch to patrole the streets. In June, a committee was appointed to make application to the governor and council, for a supply of the munitions of war adequate to the defence of the town, and such other aid as may be deemed proper; the request was promptly complied with, the necessary munitions were supplied, and a regiment of militia, under the command of Col. Caleb Howard, was ordered to take their station here for our defence, which gave the place the aspect of a a garrison town, for several months.

1815.—April 22d, died in this town the Hon. William Watson, Esq. He was born May 6th, 1730, and graduated at Harvard college, 1751. This gentleman ranked himself among the respectable whigs and patriots of our revolution, and was ever a zealous advocate for the rights and liberties of his country. As a professor of religion he was exemplary, giving punctual attendance to its ordinances and duties. His moral virtue and integrity were unquestionable, and entitled him to the confidence of those authorities by whom he was appointed to public offices. In 1775, he was appointed the first postmaster ever in this town, by our provincial congress; and on the 28th September, 1782, he was by the general court appointed to the office of naval officer for the port of Plymouth. In 1789, he received a commission, under the hand of Washington,

as collector of the port of Plymouth, which office he sustained till 1803, when he was removed by the succeeding president. In 1790, he was appointed, under the authority of the United States, Deputy Postmaster, to officiate as postmaster at Plymouth. This last commission was signed by Timothy Pickering. Mr. Watson's children now living, are, Elizabeth, who is now the widow of Hon. Nathaniel Niles, and Ellen, the wife of Hon. John Davis.

1816.—The town voted to employ Dr. Sylvanus Fancher to inoculate the inhabitants with the kine pox, at the expense of the town, which was done, and 2,800, chiefly of the young inhabitants, were vaccinated.

May 17.—A committee, chosen by the town, to make inquiry into the conduct of retailers of spirituous liquors, reports that they are deeply impressed with the magnitude of the evil, and with the serious consequences that will probably result to the rising generation, if some seasonable check cannot be put to the practice. Aware of the odium that attaches itself to those, who, from official duty are led to oppose the views and emoluments of interested individuals, we would not leave to the fathers of the town to encounter the hydra alone; we would, therefore, recommend to every honest, discreet, and sober-minded inhabitant of the town, to set his face against the practice, as he would regard the interest, prosperity, and comfort of his fellow creatures, and would preserve the rising generation from moral pollution and degeneracy, and that they would unite their efforts with those of the selectmen and civil officers of the town, to discountenance and suppress this alarming, this crying sin. They would, also, recommend, that the selectmen, overlooking all past trangressions in this respect, be enjoined, peremptorily and perseveringly, to withhold their approbation from any person, who they shall hereafter know, or very strongly suspect, to be guilty of a violation of the law.

Your committee hope they shall be excused, if they exceed the bounds of their commission, when they express their firm conviction, that a systematic perseverance in discharging the painful duty of putting under guardianship such citizens as are notoriously intemperate, will be one remedy, among others, of the evil in question.' The report was accepted.

1817. *December* 22.—The 187th anniversary of the memorable event of the landing of the forefathers was celebrated in the usual style. The discourse of this occasion was delivered by the Rev. Horace Holley, of Boston, whose well-known oratorical powers were exerted in the happiest manner, and afforded great delight and satisfaction to his numerous auditors.

Mr. Holley contemplated the scenery about our harbor, our burial hill, and the rock, and held a conversation with Deacon Spooner in the morning, which roused the best energies of his nature, and nerved his faculties to their noblest display. In his discourse he observed that he had that morning received some new recollections, and made the following allusion in reference to the venerable Spooner. 'Our venerable friend knew and conversed with Elder Faunce, who personally knew the first settlers, so Polycarp conversed with St. John, the beloved disciple of our Saviour.'

On this interesting occasion, Deacon Spooner officiated by reading the Psalm, in the ancient form, line by line, and this closed the religious services of this venerable man, who, for so many years, had been constantly seen in his appropriate seat in the sanctuary of his God. He died on the sabbath, March, 22, 1818, in the 83d year of his age. Rev. Mr. Kendall preached an occasional sermon on the following sabbath, taking for his text, 'The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness.' The following biographical sketch of the character of Deacon Spoon-

er was written by an intimate and venerable companion and friend of the deceased.*

'Died at Plymouth, on Lord's day morning, the Hon. Ephraim Spooner, in the 83d year of his age.

'It would not merely be injustice to the deceased, but injury to the living, to suffer the life of a man distinguished by such pre-eminent usefulness and active benevolence, as was that of Deacon Spooner, to pass unnoticed.

'Deacon Spooner, by his native beneficent disposition, suavity of manners, and constant readiness to oblige, early recommended himself to general notice. In the intercourse of social life, the expressions of his civility and kindness were uncommonly ardent, and to strangers might appear to be somewhat overstrained; but they who intimately knew him, can vouch with great confidence that he never made a tender of service in which he was not sincere, nor dispensed a favor that did not flow spontaneously from the heart; and it may be safely added, that he never intentionally did a wrong thing, nor thought a mean one. His fellow-townsmen, impressed with his worth and assiduity, introduced him into the various respectable offices of the town, and his election as town-clerk for fifty-two years in succession, and which he retained until his death, amidst the struggles and conflicts of party, satisfactorily evince the upright and faithful manner with which he discharged the respective offices he sustained.

'In opposition to the iniquitous system of policy adopted by Great Britain to enthral her colonies, his whole soul was engaged. As his industry was continual, nothing in his power was left unessayed to promote, in his language, *the glorious cause*, and the writer of this article could mention instances of sacrifices he offered at the shrine of his country, and of wonderful exertions he made to procure subsistence for the indi-

* Hon. Joshua Thomas.

gent during the distressing period of the war of the revolution, that would excite the admiration of all men acquainted with the common principles of human actions. But his patriotism, though in a high degree zealous, had not the least tincture of bitterness, and in the distribution of his charities, party feeling had no participation,—a pure philanthropy seemed to have marked him for her own.

'Universal good-will being so conspicuous a feature in the character of Deacon Spooner, it is unnecessary to state the warmth of his affection in the relation of husband and parent, or the ardor of his attachment as a friend.

'In the year 1790, he was appointed by the Executive, an associate justice of what is called the old court of common pleas, and held this office till that court was abolished. Being educated a merchant, his friends cannot claim for him great information in legal science; but a quick, natural discernment, and inflexible rectitude of intention, generally guided him to correct decisions. If any mistaken bias was ever discovered in his opinions, it was insensibly produced by his strong sympathies with the unfortunate. He represented the town of Plymouth in the legislature several years with his usual activity and perseverance, and finished his political career as a member of the Executive Council.

'But the highest point in the character of Deacon Spooner is yet to be named. He was from full conviction a christian, and for more than fifty years, made public profession of his religion, and for thirty-four years, officiated in the office of deacon at the altar of the First Church of Christ in Plymouth, and the first in New England, *without blemish*. Imbibing the heavenly temper of his master, like him he went about doing good, whenever opportunity presented, without cold calculations, on the measure of his ability; 'and in the meekness of his opposition and mildness of censure,'

resembled the beloved disciple. His piety was without bigotry, and his devotion without enthusiasm. No abstruse polemic divinity, no metaphysical disquisitions on the nature of faith, perplexed the simplicity of his creed, and alienated him from his fellow christians; piety to God and benevolence to man being with him the sole test of orthodoxy and discipleship.

'But about four weeks before his own death, Deacon Spooner buried his wife, with whom he had lived fifty-five years in the most entire harmony, walking cheerfully together in the christian course, and in the ordinances of the gospel; and the pious fortitude and calm resignation he exhibited on that occasion will not admit of doubt that they are again united in shouting the divine praises.

'Accept, venerable departed shade, this small tribute of respect to the memory of thy friendship, greatly beloved in life, deeply lamented in death.'

A peculiar courtesy and politeness of manners, and good feeling were inherent in the nature of our deceased friend. Numerous amusing anecdotes characteristic of the man might be adduced, but they must be omitted.

Mr. Spooner was a genuine philanthropist, and no man was more ready to interpose the kind office of friendship towards a neighbor. So ardent was his patriotism, and such his influence, that on more than one occasion when the town was driven to great extremity for money for the purpose of raising soldiers for the army, and procuring supplies for them and for their families, he had the address to obtain a loan of a wealthy gentleman who was a royalist. Deacon Spooner married Elizabeth Shurtleff, and their surviving children are Sally, James and Ebenezer.

March 8th.—Died in this town Nathaniel Goodwin, Esq., aged seventy years. He was the son of a respectable merchant, and was educated to that pro-

fession under parental care in early life. He established himself by a commendable course of industry and perseverance. He was found among the active patriots of our revolution, and entered the public service in the office of major of militia, and was attached to colonel Gerrish's regiment, stationed at Boston and Cambridge, to guard the convention troops taken under Burgoyne at Saratoga. He was also in the expedition on Rhode Island, in the capacity of major, in 1778. Subsequently he was promoted to the rank of brigadier, and that of major-general of militia, which office he sustained with honor until his death. He was for many years a representative to our legislature, and an acting magistrate, and displayed the qualities of an impartial judge. In all his avocations he was found capable and assiduous as a useful citizen, and was held in respect for his probity, integrity and other moral virtues. General Goodwin left sons and daughters, one of whom is Rev. Ezra S. Goodwin, of Sandwich.

1820.—As the present year closes the second century since the pilgrim fathers first landed on our shores, a respectable number of the inhabitants of this town, impelled by a sense of duty and pious gratitude to divine Providence, have instituted a society, which was by our legislature incorporated February 24th, by the name of *Pilgrim Society*. The design of this association is to commemorate this great historical event, and to perpetuate the character and virtues of our ancestors to posterity. In accordance with these views they proceeded to erect a durable monumental edifice in this town, for the accommodation of the meetings of said society, and as a memorial sacred to the memory of the founders of our empire.

Centennial Celebration of the Landing of the Pilgrims, December 22d.—The period now recurs when we commemorate with peculiar solemnity the momentous event which gave birth and existence to our nation,

with all which is valuable in the civil, literary and religious establishments in New England. This day completes the second century since our shores were first impressed by the footsteps of civilized men. The Pilgrim Society desirous of giving to the solemnities appropriate dignity and permanent effect, selected a gentleman of the first talents, Hon. Daniel Webster, as their orator. After a well adapted prayer by the Rev. Dr. Kirkland, president of Harvard University, the speaker entertained the audience for about two hours. This address was all that could be anticipated or conceived. It was correct in its historical statements, powerful in argument, rich in description, and pathetic and eloquent in action. The characters and principles, the sufferings and virtues of the pilgrim puritans were portrayed with great justice and felicity. The useful and glorious efforts of their wisdom and enterprise, and independent love of truth, were fully displayed to the judgement and feelings of an intelligent and delighted audience. But we are sensible of the difficulty of doing justice to this appropriate and splendid performance, and must refer to the discourse itself for a just sense of its pre-eminent merits. The concourse of people was immense, far more numerous than on any former occasion; and a great portion of them from our most distinguished and respectable citizens. A procession was formed at 11 o'clock, soon after the business of the Pilgrim Society was transacted, and escorted by the *Standish Guards*, a neat independent company lately organized, and commanded by Capt. Coomer Weston, moved through the main street of the town to the meeting house, and, after the services of the sanctuary, was attended by the same corps to the new court-house, where they sat down to an elegant, though simple repast, provided in a style very proper for the occasion, where the company was served with the treasures both of the land and the sea. Among other affecting memorials calling to mind the distresses of

the pilgrims, was five kernels of parched corn placed on each plate, alluding to the time in 1623, when that was the proportion allowed to each individual on account of the scarcity. John Watson, Esq., respectable by years, and dignified by his gentlemanly manners, and the only surviving member of the Old Colony Club, presided during the hours of dinner. The Hon. Joshua Thomas, president of the Pilgrim Society, to the great regret of the gentlemen present, was prevented from attending, by severe illness. Mr. Watson was assisted by Hon. William Davis, of Plymouth, and Alden Bradford, Esq., of Boston; and the following gentlemen, by request of the president, acted as vice-presidents, viz. Hon. T. Bigelow, Hon. L. Lincoln, William Jackson, Esq., Judah Alden, Esq., William R. Rotch, Esq., and F. C. Gray, Esq. Good humour and good feelings were displayed in every countenance and expressed by a constant interchange of friendly greetings and ardent congratulations; and such was the decorum and propriety of deportment through the day, that even the stern pilgrims might have looked down without rebuke. After the regular toasts were announced, Mr. Bradford rose and observed to the members of the Pilgrim Society (and the company) that he had been requested by their president, Judge Thomas, to express his great regret in not being able to join them in the solemnities of the day; to assure them that he had anticipated the joyous celebration with peculiar interest and pleasure, and that while life was continued to him, it would be his ardent wish to promote the objects of the association, in cherishing a grateful remembrance of the virtues of the pilgrims, and in giving his support to their principles and institutions. The following, communicated by Judge Thomas, was then given and received with great approbation; and the cry of encore, encore, was repeated from every part of the hall. 'Our Forefathers' Creed; Law, Liberty and Religion: If their

descendants would preserve the *two first*, let them not expunge the third article.' *

Hon. Judge Davis then proposed a toast for the health of Judge Thomas, whose cheering society and acceptable superintendence we had been accustomed to enjoy on these anniversaries.

After the first toast was drank, the Hon. Judge Davis, President of the Historical Society, who, with several of the members had been appointed a committee to congratulate the Pilgrim Society on this interesting occasion, addressed them as follows:—

'*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Pilgrim Society*, —The celebration of this memorable day, which excites such just and general notice, could not fail to engage the attention of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Their pursuits are in unison with the objects of your association, and they cheerfully accept your invitation to this interesting festival. In behalf of that society, and as chairman of their committee, appointed for this purpose, it is my grateful office to present to you their congratulations and to express their cordial sympathy in the sentiments of veneration which you so eminently cherish for the founders of our race.

'With this manifestation of their fraternal regard, permit me, in their behalf, to request your acceptance of an entire copy of their collections. By these publications, many precious memorials of our ancestors have been rescued from oblivion, and we would wish them to find a place in the library of your institution.

'The annual celebrations of the landing of the fathers on this memorable ground, have been uniformly regarded with complacency. Statesmen, sages and scholars, the busy and the contemplative, the aged and the young, all delight to participate in the pious recollections with which you are animated.

* Judge Thomas's toast alluded to the third article in our Bill of Rights; the question of expunging it was then under consideration in the state convention.

'The toils and perils of suffering virtue—the objects and aims, the struggles and the rewards of the pilgrims, furnish a most instructive lesson, and are reviewed with tender emotions. In them the painter finds a subject for the happiest effort of his pencil—poetry offers her garland, and the sons of genius are emulous of your appointment to the principal performance of the day. This is no common holyday. On the present occasion, the completion of the second century since the landing of our fathers, the impressions habitually connected with your celebrations assume a deeper interest. Visitors from every direction repair to your respected residence, and many of the fair daughters of the land, regardless of the severity of the season, express a kindred spirit with the wives and daughters of the pilgrims, and unite in your reverential homage. Scenes, which are to you familiar, attract the attention of your guests. They gaze on the wintry wave which dashes on your shore, for there they seem to espy the approaching shallops; and on that shore they trace, in imagination, the footsteps of the unsheltered wanderers. They survey the streams, and drink at the springs which invited the weary exiles here to commence their settlement. They ascend the height, where yet are seen the outlines of the first footsteps of the Pilgrims, and their first place of worship. There rest the remains of the departed worthies. No monument to their memory appears in the hallowed ground; but every heart erects a monument, while it dwells with holy musings on the life and death of the righteous, on the sure resurrection of the just.

'It is a happy privilege to live to witness this day, and to unite with kindred minds in its services. To the Pilgrim Society is committed the dignified trust of perpetuating these filial observances. Under such auspices, we are assured that these annual solemnities will ever preserve their just and appropriate character. Most cordially, gentlemen, do we wish prosperity and honor to your institution.

'The purposes of its establishment are generous and elevated. They touch the heart, and open to the intellectual view the most impressive considerations; for truth, freedom, patriotism, social order, religion, all the lofty aims and characteristics of humanity are associated with the objects of your society, and with the incidents which we are assembled to commemorate. Your recollections will attest that this is no exaggeration, and what we have this day heard, affords abundant confirmation of the rich variety which the 'short and simple annals of the poor,' can furnish for the exercise of intellectual energy and discriminating observation. We have witnessed the affecting and sublime reflection presented to a devout and benevolent mind, from the brief history of our ancestors; and the auspicious consequences, springing from the most humble beginnings, are consoling to every friend of man, and encouraging to the cause of truth and virtue.

'The "stricken deer that left the herd" were not destined to perish; *the wilderness and the solitary place are glad for them, and the desert blossoms as the rose.*'

The Rev. Dr. Kendall, one of the trustees of the Pilgrim Society, by their request, and in their behalf, replied with great feeling and propriety. He spoke of the great respectability and utility of the Historical Society, by the instrumentality of which so much that was important and interesting in the early history of the country, and particularly of the adventures and principles of the pilgrim fathers was collected and preserved. In referring to the virtues and sufferings, the faith and piety of our fathers, he paid a just tribute to their precious memories; and expressed a hope, that these celebrations, devoted to the recollection of their services in the cause of religion and the rights of conscience, would have the happy effect of strengthening our love of pure and unadulterated christianity, and increasing our attachment to the correct princi-

ples, the moral habits and social virtues, the civil and religious institutions of the puritan founders of New England, to whose zeal and firmness and perseverance we owe so much.

The Hon. Mr. Lincoln, one of the vice-presidents, of the American Antiquarian Society, also offered their congratulations to the members of the Pilgrim Society, and made the following address:

'Mr. President—The American Antiquarian Society, by their attending officers and members, beg to be indulged the pleasure of publicly proffering the most cordial congratulations to the Pilgrim Society, upon their organization, and upon the auspicious circumstances under which they are convened on this highly interesting occasion. The spot endeared by all the associated recollections of the first landing of our forefathers is best consecrated to their fame, by the joyous commemoration of their valor and virtues, and a grateful recognition of the privations they patiently endured, of the difficulties they triumphantly encountered, and of the work they gloriously accomplished. Two centuries have now passed since in the rigor of an inclement season, in the desolation of a wilderness, amidst savages and beasts of prey, the tread of *Christians* impressed these shores with the first footsteps of *civilization*. The hazard in corporeal existence which they incurred, the struggle for self-preservation which they maintained, their undaunted energy in danger, their unbending integrity in temptation, their pious resignation in suffering, their fear and worship of God, and their regard for and love of each other, are themes, which, on every occasion of remembrance, swell with enthusiastic admiration the hearts of their descendants. Forever cherished be these recollections! Forever honored be the names and characters of the pilgrims! On every recurring anniversary of their landing may this first scene of their trials and their sufferings, their conflicts and their endurance, be hallowed by the personal hom-

age of those who are worthy to inherit the rich fruits of their triumph. May the Pilgrim Society eminently flourish, and with its success may public gratitude be excited towards all those enlightened, munificent and patriotic men by whose merits and exertions the occasion has hitherto been had in honor, and who are now associated to make the record of that occasion permanent.'

By the request of the president, Mr. Secretary Bradford, a trustee of the Pilgrim Society addressed the officers and members of the Antiquarian Society, who were present, as a delegation specially appointed, and observed that the honorable notice taken of the Pilgrim Society, and the approbation expressed as to its views and objects, were highly gratifying to the members of the association; that the generous congratulations, tendered on the occasion, were cordially reciprocated; that the best wishes of the friends of our forefathers attended the American Antiquarian Society for success in their honorable purposes, and expressed a hope that the result of their several associations would be a more extensive and efficient sentiment in favor of the civil and religious institutions of our beloved country.

Mr. B.'s reply was made without opportunity for preparation. The above-mentioned societies had been invited by the Pilgrim Society to attend the celebration.

A splendid ball in the evening closed the festivities of this memorable day. The company was numerous beyond any ever recollected to have been convened in that place.

The hall was decorated with great taste, and the costume of the ladies was at once beautiful and uniform, as if there had been an understanding to avoid mere show and expense, and to study appropriate simplicity united with real elegance; and it was indeed a pleasant scene, where we might look around on a company of

six hundred of different ages, among whom innocent mirth, and social feelings were so eminently prevalent. And it is also highly satisfactory to reflect that the amusements, such as these, where excess is avoided and the more sober spirit of age sheds an influence to restrain all improper levity, are not incompatible with a love of genuine virtue and respect for the stern characters of our pious and venerated ancestors.

The inhabitants of this most ancient town in New England were highly gratified by the collection of respectable citizens from all parts of the state; and those who made this pleasant pilgrimage to the rock of our fathers were equally gratified by the attention, civility and hospitality shown them by the families residing on this consecrated spot. The object of the Pilgrim Society was highly approved, and many new members were added on the 22d inst.

Mr. Webster's Oration soon passed through three editions, and the generous spirited author would not appropriate any part of the profits of the copy-right to himself, but presented it as a donation to the Pilgrim Society, by which one hundred dollars were added to its funds.

January 10.—Expired in this town, the Hon. Joshua Thomas. He was born in 1751, and was descended from one of the most respectable families in the colony, his ancestor being *William Thomas*, of *Marshfield*, who was a particular friend of governor Winslow, and settled near him.

Judge Thomas was the son of Dr. William Thomas, an eminent physician in this town, who lived to an advanced age. The following sketch of our distinguished townsman is taken from the Collections of the Historical Society, vol. x. 2d series.

'Mr. Thomas received his education at Harvard University, and was considered one of the first scholars in the large class of which he was a member. He was particularly distinguished for a flowing and elegant style

of writing, and in subsequent periods of his life he gave repeated evidence of this happy talent. He was graduated in July, 1772. After passing a few months in teaching youth, (an employment in which, formerly, some of the best scholars in the state engaged for a short period, on leaving the university,) he gave his attention to theological studies, with a view to the clerical profession. But he was never employed in its public services. The political controversy with Great Britain, which was now becoming highly interesting and approaching to a crisis, seems to have engaged his chief attention, as it did that of other patriots of that eventful period. He was adjutant of a regiment of newly organized militia, raised in Plymouth county in the autumn of 1774; and, at their request he delivered a public address on the political state of the country, which was received with great approbation and applause.

'In April, 1775, soon after the battle of Lexington, Col. John Thomas, of Kingston, who had been an officer in 1758, raised a regiment, and marched, with others, to Roxbury. Here he acted for some months, as commander of the several regiments encamped at that place, with the rank of general, while general Ward commanded at Cambridge, and was actually commander in chief of the Massachusetts troops, until the arrival of general Washington, in July following, who had received a commission to command the American forces of all the colonies. Mr. Thomas was aid to general Thomas at this period, and for this whole campaign; and his intelligence and activity rendered him highly useful to the general, and the division under his command.

'In the same capacity he accompanied general Thomas, in the spring of 1776, to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, who was entrusted with the chief command of the American troops in that quarter. After a few months service on that expedi-

tion, general Thomas died, and the command devolved on general Schuyler, of New York. Major Thomas then left the army and returned to his native town, where he engaged in the study of the law, and was occasionally employed by government in various agencies for the public service; but did not again go into the field.

'In the year 1781, he was elected a representative from Plymouth, and after serving the town in this capacity for several years, he was chosen one of the senators for that county, and, in 1792, was appointed judge of probate on the decease of the Hon. Joseph Cushing. This office he sustained until his death, a period of twenty-nine years; and its various duties were discharged with a correctness and integrity, with an impartiality and patience never exceeded, perhaps by any one, and which secured to him the esteem and respect of the whole county. There was such amenity in his manners, and such a spirit of accommodation in the discharge of his official duties, as well as in the private circle, that all who associated with him, either for public business or social converse, were pleased and delighted. His memory was uncommonly retentive, and he was full of anecdotes calculated to illustrate the opinions and manners of men of former days, particularly of the patriots and statesmen of 1775. He was fond of perusing the works of ethical and theological writers. His reading was very extensive on these subjects. He was well acquainted with the various systems of theology in the christian world; but gave his decided preference to that, which is now denominated unitarian and liberal. He went to the fountain of inspiration for his religious sentiments; he admitted no other authority as decisive but the bible; and this, he believed, every one was bound to examine and interpret for himself; yet he approved, generally of the writings of *Price*, and *Watson*, of *Mayhew*, *Chauncy*, and others of their catholic views. In his political character he

ranked among the ardent friends of rational freedom, and was a true disciple of the Washington school. Though an enemy to arbitrary rulers, who forgot right and attempted to exercise illegal and unconstitutional power, he was a firm supporter of all legitimate authority, and a ready advocate of law and order. In the various critical periods of the commonwealth, during his active life, he united his efforts, with other good men, in vindicating correct constitutional principles, in opposition to popular excitements and party feelings.

'His qualities as a parent, neighbor, and friend were peculiarly happy and commendable. He was indulgent, mild, generous, disinterested. As a lawyer, also, he shared largely in the esteem and confidence of the people. He was too honorable to impose on the ignorant, or to exact even the usual fees for professional business of the poorer classes. Most men, with the portion of business which he had as a lawyer, and without a charge of dishonesty, would have accumulated much more than he did. He was many years president of the bar in Plymouth county; and the following vote, passed, unanimously, at the first court holden in in that county, after his decease, fully shows the high estimation, which his brethren of the profession had of his talents and character. "The bar, taking into consideration the afflicting dispensation of Providence, in removing by death, their highly respectable president, the Hon. Joshua Thomas, distinguished by his literary and legal acquirements, his moral and social virtues, and with a deep sense of the loss which the community in general have sustained by this melancholy event, do resolve, that they will, in token of their respect for his memory, wear *crape* from this time till the end of the next term of the supreme judicial court for this county."

'The honorable notice taken of our friend by Judge Putnam, at a session of the supreme judicial court in

Plymouth, in May, 1821, at the first term thereof in the new court house, is worthy of preservation. "Alas! that our joy, on this interesting occasion, should be mixed with grief for the loss of that excellent and venerable man, who presided in your courts, and was so long the widow's friend, and father of the fatherless. This temple of justice is but one of the durable proofs of his influence, and of the never-failing confidence, which your people had in his integrity and judgement. His respected name will descend with distinguished honor to posterity: but the benignity of his countenance and manners can be properly estimated only by those, who had the happiness to know him. If he were here to day, he would rejoice with you, because he would have believed that this well-timed liberality will be productive of lasting honor and benefit to the country, as well as to the state. He was fully impressed with that veneration for the laws and for the magistracy, which will ever be associated with these walls."

'When a Bible Society was formed in the counties of Plymouth and Norfolk, in 1814, he was chosen president, and so continued to the time of his death. He was also president of the Pilgrim Society, and his death is deeply lamented by all its members. The regrets of the Historical Society are mingled with those of others, with whom he was associated for useful and patriotic purposes; and they improve the earliest opportunity to record this sketch of his character and services from a respectful regard for his memory, and as an incitement to others to honorable exertion for the good of the public and of posterity.'

Judge Thomas married Isabella Stevenson; and their descendants are John Boise, William, and Joshua Barker.

The town purchased of the court of sessions of the county, the old court house, for the sum of $2,000, to be appropriated as a Town House.

April.—The town voted that the court of sessions of the county may make any walks or improvement on

the town's land in front of the new court house, or in any way ornament the same with trees or posts, &c., leaving a sufficient road open on each side; but no building whatever to be erected on the land.

May 29.—The town voted to instruct their representative in general court to use every reasonable effort for better regulating and diminishing the sale and use of spirituous liquors, and for preventing pauperism.

Voted, also, that the selectmen be requested to address the selectmen of the several towns in the county, furnishing them with a copy of the above vote, and request their co-operation therewith; either on their own responsibility, or by laying the subject before their several towns respectively.

1822.—The town voted to petition the legislature to pass a law prohibiting fires in the woods, by coal-pits in Plymouth, Sandwich, Carver, Wareham and Kingston.

Mr. Ichabod Shaw, died this year, aged eighty-seven. He was descended from John Shaw, of an ancient and respectable family, who was among our first settlers, and located himself in Middleborough. He was an ingenious and industrious artist, possessing a sagacious mind, and was held in regard for his friendly and social qualities. He was strongly attached to the names of the pilgrim fathers, and was himself an exemplifier of their simple manners and virtues. He married a daughter of deacon John Atwood of this town, and was the parent of five sons and seven daughters.

1823. *December* 22.—This day brings us to the 203d year since the landing of the pilgrims in this place. The semi-annual meeting of the Pilgrim Society was held, agreeably to the provision of their constitution. The interesting associations and pleasing recollections of the occasion were awakened and indulged, but the appropriate public performances were dispensed with. Several parties of the younger class resorted to the salutary amusement at the dancing

halls. The *Standish Guards*, an elegant independent company, commanded by Capt. Coomer Weston, paraded, and marched through the streets, visited the rock, and dined in public, where a number of appropriate toasts were pronounced.

1824. *January* 26.—At a meeting of the inhabitants of the town, it was voted to petition congress for aid in repairing the beach. The petition expresses a grateful acknowledgment for the appropriations heretofore made, for surveying and securing the harbor of Plymouth; after which it proceeds to represent, 'that, since the landing of our ancestors in 1620, this beach has been gradually wasting. From the year 1784 to the present time, repairs have been necessary for its preservation; and since the year 1806, the sum of $40,000 has been expended in repairing it. This sum has been raised by grants from this state, by contributions of individuals, and by taxes assessed on your memorialists. The repairs, thus made, have hitherto warranted the belief, that with our means, though small, we should be able to preserve it without further aid from the public, such, however, has been the destruction, by the late violent storms, of the northern extremity of the beach, heretofore considered the most permanent, as well as the most important, and where repairs have not been considered requisite, that your memorialists are satisfied it is wholly beyond their means to make the repairs necessary to preserve it.

'Your memorialists forbear to describe the distress that the destruction of this beach will bring upon the inhabitants of the ports of Plymouth and Kingston, in the loss of their property and employments; nor would they particularly remind you of the hopeless situation in which our numerous class of fishermen would thereby be placed, who, from their youth, have had no other employment than in the fisheries; but they would most respectfully place the merits of their appeal on the importance of this harbor to the commerce, navigation, and revenue of the country.

'There are now, belonging to the ports of Plymouth and Kingston, two ships, fourteen brigs, sixty-five schooners, and fifteen sloops, measuring 8,228 tons, which vessels are employed partly in foreign trade, partly in the coasting trade, and partly in the whale, cod, and mackerel fisheries.

'The amount of duties secured on imports in the district of Plymouth within the last three years, is $65,574 67, four-fifths of which amount were secured on importations at this port. This harbor is often frequented by vessels, when by adverse winds they are driven from their ports of destination north of this district; and during the inclement seasons of the year, vessels are often saved from shipwreck by entering it. It is also of great national importance in time of war. It is the only harbor, south of Boston, in the Massachusetts Bay, embracing a sea coast of more than one hundred and fifty miles, in which vessels can *then* anchor in safety from the enemy. During the wars in which this country has been engaged, a large amount of property has been saved to individuals, and of revenue to the government, which, without this safe retreat, would have been lost. During the last war, many vessels were thus saved. The duties arising on the cargoes of two vessels amounted to $154,836 21, which, without this harbor, would have inevitably fallen into the hands of the enemy. From March, 1813, to May, 1814, was perhaps the most gloomy period of the war. The ships of the enemy were almost constantly cruising in the Massachusetts Bay. Yet, during this short and perilous period, the duties secured at this port on the cargoes of vessels, that escaped the ships of the enemy and found safety in this harbor, amounted to the sum of $20,318 32. By the public surveys it also appears, that ships of the line can anchor with safety in this harbor, which may be considered as increasing the interest the public have in its preservation.

'Your memoralists, having thus briefly stated the importance of this harbor to themselves and the public, and their inability to make the repairs on the beach which are necessary to its preservation, do pray your honorable body to take the subject into consideration, and to grant them such aid in repairing it as to your wisdom may appear proper.' Subsequent to this memorial, congress made grants amounting to $43,566 for the repairs. See under head *Beach*.

Monumental Edifice. September 1.—The funds of the Pilgrim Society, being thought sufficient to warrant the trustees in commencing the building of a monumental edifice, the corner-stone was this day laid, with appropriate solemnities. This edifice is to be seventy by forty feet, with walls of unwrought split granite ; the height from the top of the foundation to the eave cornice being about thirty-three feet, forms two stories. The lower room is to be about ten feet in the clear of the ceiling ; and the upper to the impost moulding about twenty feet, to which being added the curve of the ceiling is about twenty-three feet. The present contract extends no farther than to enclose the main building. It is intended, as soon as the state of the funds will justify, to form the front by an addition of about twenty feet, with a double tier of steps, having entrance to the upper room and by descent to the lower. The front will be finished with a Doric portico on four columns, of about twenty feet in height, the base of which will be from three to four feet above the level of the street. The situation presents a full view of the river and outer harbor.

The Pilgrim Society, under the escort of the Standish Guards, proceeded to the meeting house, where intercession was made by the Rev. Mr. Kendall, select passages of scripture were read by Rev. Mr. Willis, of Kingston, and an address on the character and virtues of our fathers was delivered by Alden Bradford, Esq., reaching the hearts of his hearers as it came warm

from his own. The solemnities of the church were closed by singing a hymn in the tune of *Old Hundred*, after the ancient manner, line by line. The society under the same escort, and preceded by the children of the several schools, then proceeded to the site of the proposed building, laid the corner stone, when the venerable President, John Watson, Esq., recounted some of the highly valued privileges of our descent. He expressed his gratitude that his life had been spared to witness these solemnities; and after the filial zeal of the present generation shall be attested, in the completion of this monument 'to perpetuate the virtues of the pilgrims,' he would say, like the patriarch of old, *Now let thy servant depart in peace.* The Rev. Dr. Allyne expressed our sense of dependence on the Almighty architect for the success of this, and all our labors, and supplicated a divine blessing. Thus in good earnest have we laid the foundation of 'a monument to perpetuate the memory of the virtues, the enterprise, and unparalleled sufferings of the men who first settled in this ancient town,' where for ages their descendants may repair and trace their feeble beginnings, and contemplate the astonishing results, that a beneficent Deity has annexed to the resolute, unwearied, conscientious performance of the duties of piety and benevolence.

The following articles were deposited in an excavation made in the stone for that purpose.

Deposits.—Sermon delivered at Plymouth by Robert Cushman, December 12th, 1621.

First Newspaper printed in the Old Colony, by Nathaniel Coverly, at Plymouth, in 1786.

Coins of the United States, and of Massachusetts.

Odes composed for the Anniversary.

Constitution of the Pilgrim Society, and the Names of its Members.

Daniel Webster's Century Oration for 1820.

Massachusetts Register.

Old Colony Memorial began in May, 1822, by Allen Danforth.

Columbian Centinel, by Benjamin Russell, containing an account of the entry of General Lafayette into the city of Boston.

Plate.—'In grateful memory of our ancestors, who *exiled* themselves from their native country, for the sake of religion, and here successfully laid the foundation of *Freedom* and Empire, December xxii. A. D. MDCXX. their descendants, the Pilgrim society, have raised this edifice, August xxxi. A. D. MDCCCXXIV.

A. PARRIS, ARCHITECT.
J. & A. S. TAYLOR, BUILDERS.
H. MORSE, SC.'

1824.—In the summer of the present year a general joy was diffused though the United States by the arrival on our shores of that illustrious friend of our country General Lafayette. All ranks of people and all public bodies vied in homage and respect to this great personage.

The morning after the arrival of General Lafayette in Boston, Dr. Thatcher called on him, with the subjoined letter from the selectmen of Plymouth, in behalf of the citizens of the town.

'*Plymouth, Mass. August 21st*, 1824.

'GENERAL LAFAYETTE,

'Sir: the inhabitants of this town cordially unite with their fellow-citizens, in bidding you a sincere welcome to the United States. Living on the spot where their ancestors, the founders of the American Republic, first landed and settled, the inhabitants cherish a deep interest for those who have aided the cause for which they emigrated to these shores; which cause you, with other distinguished friends of freedom, successfully supported through the perilous period of the revolutionary war. The privations you suffered, and the perils and hardships you encountered during that interesting struggle, in leaving your home and country, and

exposing your life to the dangers of the American camp for the freedom and independence of the States, justly entitle you to the lasting gratitude of the American people; and as long as they are worthy of the rich and invaluable blessing they now enjoy, they cannot fail of looking to you as their unwavering benefactor.

'Should it be convenient to you before leaving the United States, to visit this place, the inhabitants will be highly gratified in having the pleasure of waiting on you, and expressing to you personally, assurances of their gratitude and esteem. In behalf of the inhabitants and by order of the selectmen of Plymouth.

'Z. SAMPSON, *Chairman.*'

Answer.

'SIR: Nothing could afford me a greater satisfaction than to have the honor to pay my respects to the citizens of Plymouth; nor will I leave the shores of America before I have enjoyed this heartfelt gratification. But my present first visit to this part of the Union is shortened by previous engagements, and the obligation to go towards the seat of government at Washington city. I anticipate the time when it will be in my power, personally, to present the citizens of Plymouth with my grateful and affectionate acknowledgments for their kindness to me. Be pleased to accept the tribute of those sentiments, and to believe me with much personal regard your obedient servant,

'LAFAYETTE.'

Second letter from Gen. Lafayette to the selectmen.

'*Washington, February* 5, 1825.

'SIR: On the point of beginning a long journey through the Southern and Western States, I anticipate the time of next summer, when I will return to the Northern and Eastern parts of the Union. Happy I will be if I can present the people of Plymouth with my respectful thanks, and pay a tribute of reverence to the first spot where persecuted patriots did seek an

asylum which they now offer to all the citizens of European despotism and aristocracy. In the mean while I beg you, Sir, to accept, and to offer to your fellow-citizens, the expression of my deep regards and affectionate respect. LAFAYETTE.

'*Zeb. Sampson, Esq.*'

In town meeting.—'Whereas Gen. Lafayette has declared his intention of visiting this town the ensuing summer, it becomes peculiarly incumbent on its citizens, living as we do, in the very birth-place of liberty, to prepare due honors for the man, whose eventful life has been devoted to its cause, and whom ten millions of free Americans with one consent have delighted to honor, the illustrious guest of the nation.

Therefore, *voted*, to appoint a committee of ten, to prepare for his reception in a manner best calculated to show to him and the public our grateful sentiments on this joyous occasion. Voted, that the selectmen be authorized to draw on the treasury for a sum sufficient to cancel the expenses thence accruing.' A committee of ten persons was accordingly appointed, and proper arrangements were made for his reception, but for want of time he was obliged to dispense with his visit. This disappointment was greatly regretted. Lafayette would have been received here with emotions of cordial affection and profound respect, as it cannot be doubted that he cherished an interest in the consecrated asylum of those apostles of civil and religious freedom, whom we glory to style our progenitors, and who were animated by those holy principles so congenial to his own heart. How gratifying the occasion, could we have seen this great man step on the Rock of our fathers; the sacred monument on which were imprinted the footsteps of the anxious pilgrims, panting for a sanctuary for the deposite of their heavenly trust, the Charter of Liberty! The work which commenced in 1620, nurtured by the smiles of a guardian Provi-

dence, was with his generous assistance consummated in 1781. The annals of our revolution and the few survivors of that memorable period, bear ample testimony to the ardor and devotion which he displayed, and the noble deeds he achieved under the banners of Washington; and millions of freemen will ever cherish in their hearts the name of Lafayette.

December.—On the 22d instant, was celebrated the birth-day of New England, the 204th anniversary, by the Pilgrim Society. The day was welcomed in a manner suited to the greatness of the occasion, and the increasing interest which is displayed in our early history. It was particularly gratifying to the inhabitants, that so many distinguished characters were disposed to resort hither, with feelings of enthusiasm, to 'pay due honors to the urns of the pilgrim fathers of our race,' and to participate in the festivities which custom and propriety have sanctioned, as appropriate to this ever memorable anniversary. The immense crowd of visitors the preceding evening filled all our public houses, and the private mansions were thrown open, that all might be accommodated. The evening was pleasant, and lights were placed at the windows, which served to prevent accident, and had the effect of a general illumination.

At the early dawn, demonstrations of gratitude and joy commenced by the ringing of bells and discharge of cannon from the ancient 'Fort Hill,' and soon the streets were thronged with an assemblage of citizens and strangers, more numerous than usual on any former anniversary. There were some peculiarities in the celebration this year, by which public anticipation had been highly excited. The Pilgrim Hall, recently erected to the memory of our fathers, the beautiful paintings of Col. Sargent, which adorned its wall, and the splendid reputation of the orator, Professor Everett, combined to awaken a lively interest in all classes of people. Hence, the town was honored by visitors

from every part of New England, many from New York, and several ladies and gentlemen of distinction from foreign countries. At ten o'clock, the Pilgrim Society assembled at the Hall, where the noble images of our ancestors on the wall attracted universal attention. From the hall, a very respectable procession was escorted, by the Standish Guards, to the meeting-house, where a very devotional prayer was offered by Rev. Mr. Kendall. On no occasion, perhaps, have the pious effusions of the heart and humble petitions been uttered with greater eloquence or more powerful effect on an audience. Then followed a masterly discourse by Professor Everett, replete with instructive details of history, of pious patriotism and glowing effusions of praise towards our fathers, for the unexampled intrepidity and fortitude with which they encountered their peculiar difficulties. This incomparable performance, with which all were delighted, and which added to the well earned fame of its author, has been published. The procession returned from the meeting house to the Hall, where an excellent dinner was provided, and enlivened with appropriate songs and toasts. The day closed with a splendid and fully attended ball. The admirable picture of the landing of the fathers, by Col. Sargent, was by its author placed in the Pilgrim Hall at this celebration, that the eye as well as the ear and the intellect might be gratified on this interesting occasion. A writer in the newspaper says, 'We must do Mr. Sargent the justice to say, that he has not disgraced the noble story. No, the grandeur of the matchless undertaking has not suffered in his hands. The whole group and back ground of this picture, indicate deep thought, successful study, and equal skill in the execution. And who of us, descendants of the intrepid association, can look at the picture without emotion? It is a heart-moving representation of the patriarchs of our own blessed tribe, now spread and spreading throughout this vast land of promise. The story, as told by Mr. Sargent on the glowing canvas, is truly

affecting, and the moral dignified. It is a striking picture of christian heroism, turning its back on regal and ecclesiastical folly and persecution. The picture has a special reference to the greatest civil event in the records of the human race, and the story is well told and well painted.'

March.—The town voted to receive the new road at Eel river, passing by the cotton factory to the old Sandwich road, as a town road.

July.—The anniversary of the American Independence was celebrated in this town in a manner exceedingly gratifying to a large and respectable collection of citizens of this and other towns in the county. Salutes were fired from Watson's Hill at sunrise, immediately after the services in the meeting house, and at sunset, by the Plymouth Artillery. A procession of citizens was formed, which was escorted to Rev. Dr. Kendall's meeting-house. After fervent prayers by Dr. Kendall, and other appropriate religious services, the Declaration of Independence was read by Rev. Mr. Freeman, and the oration was delivered by William Thomas, Esq. 'It was a concise, elegant and comprehensive production, illustrating in a highly interesting manner the feelings, principles and events connected with the revolution, tracing their origin from the earliest periods of English history to the eventful fourth of July, 1776.' After the services of the sanctuary, the company returned in procession to Pilgrim Hall, where upwards of two hundred partook of a sumptuous dinner, at which the Hon. William Davis presided.

William Goodwin, Esq. died July seventeenth, 1825, aged sixty-nine years. He was son of a respectable merchant in this town. It was his misfortune, to labor under great bodily infirmities during many years, but his mind was active and intelligent. In the offices of assessor and selectman, he was ever found faithful, and was esteemed a man of public integrity and usefulness. He held the office of post-master for several

years, and was cashier of Plymouth Bank from its first establishment till his death. He married Lydia, the eldest daughter of Captain Simeon Sampson, of this town, and they were parents of five sons and two daughters, all of whom are living, except William, a respectable and intelligent merchant, who died at Havanna, December fifteenth, 1821, aged thirty-eight years. Mr. Goodwin married for his second wife the widow of Rev. Mr. Briggs of Chatham, who was also a daughter of Captain S. Sampson, and who still survives.

1826. *January* 5.—Died in this town Hon. William Davis. 'This gentleman has been long and extensively known and esteemed, as a respectable merchant. To this line of life he was early devoted, and the few simple principles to which he adhered, industry, probity and perseverance, made his successful course an instructive example, and, united with many kindred virtues, rendered him a valued and endeared member of the community. He was cordially attached to his native town, and engaged with unwearied assiduity, in the various municipal labors, to which he was called in early life, and which, for many successive years, were assigned to him. He occasionally represented the town in general court, and in the years 1812 and 1813, was a member of the executive council. Political distinction, however, was never an object of his pursuit, and to calls of this character he always yielded with reluctance. From the faithful and discreet discharge of his various duties, from the numerous employments which his activity and energy produced or promoted, from his animating influence to encourage exertion in others, and the habitual interest which he manifested in its successful issue, he was an important member of the circle in which he moved, and his death has left a void which may not be readily supplied, and has filled many hearts with sadness. His cheerful temper and social habits, and the facility with

which his sympathies became accommodated to the situation and feelings of others, made his company and conversation always acceptable to persons of every age and condition.' Mr. Davis was president of Plymouth Bank, from its first institution till his death, and in no instance perhaps has a similar institution been more judiciously conducted. He was, for about thirty years, a member of our board of selectmen, and was a zealous advocate of the welfare and prosperity of the various civil and religious institutions of his native town. He was, at his death, vice-president of the Pilgrim Society, and ever manifested an ardent interest in its prosperity.

Mr. Davis married Rebecca Morton, who still survives, and their surviving children are Nathaniel Morton, Thomas, and Betsy, who is now the widow of Alexander Bliss, Esq. William, the oldest son, was cut off in the midst of his career of enterprise and usefulness, March 1824, in the forty-first year of his age.

1826. *February* 1.—Died John Watson, Esq., aged seventy-eight. He graduated at Harvard college in 1766, and was one of the founders of the Old Colony Club in 1769, and the last surviving member of that association of worthies. He was the first vice-president of the Pilgrim Society, and after the death of Judge Thomas, the president, was elected to fill that office, which he held till his death. Mr. Watson was the proprietor of Clark's Island, where he resided during about forty years of his life. To that spot he always felt a peculiar attachment, as affording antiquarian associations, in which he delighted to indulge, and to recount to his family and friends. He left many sons and daughters, of respectable standing in life.

July.—The fiftieth anniversary of our national independence was celebrated by the inhabitants of this town, in unison with a respectable assemblage of fellow citizens from other towns in the county. The day was ushered in by the ringing of bells and the firing

of a national salute by the Plymouth Artillery. This was a county celebration, in which were united all parties and sects in the most perfect harmony, for what spirits will not harmonize while in the cradle of our country's liberty? At 11 o'clock, a procession was formed in Court-square, from whence they proceeded, under a military escort to the meeting house of the first parish, the Town-square being handsomely decorated with national flags, spread among the branches of the majestic elm trees. 'Prayers were offered by Rev. Dr. Kendall, in a strain of warm and patriotic feeling and grateful devotion.' The Declaration of Independence was read by Charles J. Holmes, Esq., of Rochester, and an oration pronounced by Charles H. Warren, Esq., of New Bedford, in handsome style, and appropriate to the occasion. After which a company of about three hundred and fifty persons sat down to an elegant dinner at which Hon. John Thomas, of Kingston, presided.' The amusements of the day were concluded by a pleasant ball at Pilgrim Hall in the evening.

November.—It having been discovered that considerable injury has been done to Plymouth beach by carrying off sand and sea-weed from the contiguous flats, and that, within a few years past, it has been the practice to take sand from said flats, for the purpose of manufacturing glass, the town petitioned the general court to pass a law prohibiting such trespasses in future.

1828.—Hon. Zabdiel Sampson, Esq., expired in this town July 19th. He was a native of Plympton, but resided in Plymouth during the several last years of his life. He was graduated at Brown University in 1803, and devoted himself to the study of the law, but was not long a pleader at the bar. In the year 1816, he was elected by this district a representative to congress, and in 1820 was appointed collector of the customs for the port of Plymouth, which he retained till

his death. He was for several years chairman of the board of selectmen in this town, and in the several offices which he sustained, he was found diligent and faithful, and in moral virtue was exemplary.

October 9th.—Died, Nathaniel Lothrop, M. D. aged ninety-one. 'Dr Lothrop was of the fifth generation from his respectable ancestor, John Lothrop. He graduated at Harvard University, at the head of the class of 1756; and, before his decease, was the only surviving graduate, except the venerable Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, of the long list of Alumni of Alma Mater, included within the years 1740 and 1759. For a considerable time, he stood far in advance, in point of age, of any other person in this place. He survived all the companions and associates of his early days in his native town, outlived the dearest of his domestic comforts, which had been his joy and delight, and was suffered to continue until even the desire of life in respect to himself had failed. A sacred regard to the dying request of the venerable deceased forbids us to enlarge; we will only add, while we cherish with respect and veneration the remembrance of his virtues, that like an ancient patriarch he died in a good old age, an old man, and full of years, and was gathered to his fathers.' It should be gratefully noticed and remembered that Dr. Lothrop gave a legacy of $500 to the Pilgrim Society, toward completing the edifice.

The 208th anniversary of the landing of the pilgrims was noticed by a private celebration on the 22d of December. A number of gentlemen of the town dined at the hotel, at which Major Joseph Thomas presided; and, besides 'the feast of shells,' the company enjoyed the anecdote, the song, and the toast, as reminiscences of olden times.

This anniversary was also celebrated by religious services in the meeting-house of the third parish; where the Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., of Boston, delivered a sermon, which attracted much attention, as

coming from 'a strong and vigorous mind, and abounding with practical and liberal remarks.'

1829. *July* 10*th.*—Died, suddenly, Samuel Davis, Esq. aged 64. Mr. Davis was truly an antiquarian; and few men within our social circle, possessed a greater fund of correct information relative to the character and circumstances of our primitive fathers. He was, says the writer of an obituary notice, 'the man to whom the inquisitive stranger was, by all of us, promptly referred. There was an accuracy and precision in the habit of his mind, that made all his minute and curious information perfectly to be relied on. He was what the world would call a man of leisure; but this leisure was no ignoble escape from thought; but was usually employed, under the direction of a cultivated taste, amid scenery and resources exactly adapted to its full gratification. He loved the characters of the pilgrims. He loved to trace out their original allotments, their first rude dwellings. He knew their sons and daughters, their intermarriages, their changes of abode, the living branches and the scions, that became new stocks in the most distant states.* Of all these things he made copious memoranda. It is easy to infer the moral traits of an intellectual man, who, fond of history and biography, yet turned with disgust from the Cæsars, the Charleses, and Napoleons, and for thirty years persevered with delight in learning the minutest particulars of men like the pilgrims. The reader would be sure that he had, in the proper use of the word, simplicity of mind; that he was unostentatious, and meek, and pure, and a lover of good men of every age and clime. If he had

* On one of the days of our anniversary, the Rev. Dr. Pierce having been for some time in conversation with Mr. Davis, a number of clergymen entered the room; the Dr. said 'Gentlemen, this is Mr. Davis, who can tell us all where we came from.' Mr. D. promptly replied, 'Gentlemen, this is Dr. Pierce, who can tell us all where we are going to.'

peculiarities, they did not arise out of disordered affections, or from bitter ingredients in the composition of his mind; but were the natural growth of a life of celibacy, and seclusion of a mind less forcibly acted upon than most others, by the events and prevalent passions of the times he lived in.'

The manner of his death was remarkable. Having walked out in the evening he retired to his chamber about ten o'clock, his usual hour, and made an entry in his diary, of the state of the weather. At breakfast time the next morning he was found a corpse, his arms folded on his breast without any indication that departing life had occasioned the least struggle, so tranquil was the end of his peaceful life.

'From life on earth our pensive friend retires,
His dust commingling with the pilgrim sires;
In thoughtful walks their every path he traced,
Their toils their tombs his faithful page embraced;
Peaceful and pure and innocent as they,
With them to rise to everlasting day.'

1830.—Died in this town June 4th. Hon. Beza Hayward, Esq., aged 78 years. He was a native of Bridgewater, and graduated at Harvard College in 1772, and devoted himself to the study of theology. When he commenced the clerical profession, the civil affairs of our country were involved in the greatest confusion by the opposition to the oppressive measures of parliament, and there was no encouragement for young clergymen. Being compelled to relinquish his profession, he became a teacher of a school for the higher branches of education. In this employment he continued for several years, when he was chosen to represent his native town in the legislature, and subsequently was elected into the senate, and afterwards a member of the council board. Patriotism, public virtue and love of order were eminent traits in his character. He possessed a peculiar tact for mathematical

calculations, and was much relied on for accuracy of results, when for many months he was employed on committees of valuation in the legislature. In the year 1808 he was appointed register of probate for the county of Plymouth, which office he sustained till his death, and acquitted himself honorably of its duties. In the domestic circle, and as a magistrate he was respected for probity, strict integrity and impartial justice. Under bereavement the virtues of meekness, humility and pious resignation were graciously exemplified in his demeanor. His descendants are Susan and John.

July 6th.—The wife of Captain William Holmes was killed by lightning, while in her house; no other person was injured, but the house was greatly shattered.

December.—We have again been called to commemorate the day so greatly endeared to the hearts of the descendants of the pilgrim fathers.

At the meeting of the Pilgrim Society, a communication was read from Hon. Judge Davis, announcing a donation of fifty copies of his edition of the New England Memorial.

The usual demonstrations of joy, by bells and cannon were put in requisition at the early dawn. The procession was extended by a numerous assemblage of patrons and friends to our institution, from various parts of New England. The customary religious services commenced by the hymn, 'Let children learn the mighty deeds,' and the ode 'Sons of renowned sires,' after which the prayer by the Rev. Mr. Gannett, of Boston, which was appropriate and impressive, devoutly acknowledging God's agency and goodness in giving the pilgrim's counsel by the calm wisdom of age, hope by the warm enthusiasm of youth, and perseverance by the strength of manhood.

The oration was delivered by the Hon. William Sullivan, which commanded deep and silent attention.

It was indeed an able and peculiarly instructive performance, teeming with just praises of the character and principles of our ancestors, and calculated to animate and inspire the whole assembly with a share of that enthusiastic spirit which came warm from the heart of the speaker. This oration has been published with copious notes annexed, and adds honor to the name of Sullivan, so well known in history, in literature and in science. After the oration, the closing hymn, 'Hail pilgrim fathers of our race,' was read line by line, and sung in the tune of Old Hundred.

The assembly in procession returned to the Pilgrim Hall, where upwards of 200 persons sat down to a splendid dinner. Alden Bradford, Esq., president of the Pilgrim Society, was seated in the arm chair of English oak, which came over with the first settlers, and belonged to Lieut. Gov. W. Bradford. The hall was decorated by the ladies with evergreens in a tasteful manner. The names of six of the worthies of the Mayflower, ingeniously made with evergreens, were placed on the walls, four on each side and two in front. In the evening the hall exhibited a most splendid assemblage of youth, beauty and reverend age, mingling in one common scene of innocent, rational and grateful festivity. The orchestra in the hall was filled with a fine band of music.

1831.—*Anniversary Commemoration.*—There is a standing vote of the first parish in Plymouth, that they will annually solemnize by religious services the anniversary of the landing of our forefathers, except when the Pilgrim Society shall take the celebration on themselves. They feel the duty peculiarly incumbent upon them, since they are united with the first church planted in New England; even that church which recognizes the puritans from Leyden as their legitimate founders; and moreover, our sanctuary occupies the area which they selected for the place of their worship. It is, therefore, the altar of this sanctuary from which

ascriptions of gratitude and praise should annually ascend for our heavenly bequest.

According to arrangements previously made, a numerous and highly respectable assembly convened on the 22d of December, in the new church of the first parish, for divine service. 'The Rev. Mr. Cole, of Kingston, and Rev. Mr. Goodwin, of Concord, offered our thanksgivings and supplications in a spirit and manner worthy the interesting occasion.' The Rev. Mr. Brazer, of Salem, delivered a discourse peculiarly appropriate, which attracted universal attention, from Psalm xxx. 8 and 9. It was fraught with interesting intelligence and with filial affection. How can we best honor the fathers, and in what way shall we best cherish their memory? This inquiry was awakening to the feelings of the audience, and the discussions of the eloquent speaker delighted the understandings of those who love to cherish the puritan character. We regret that the author declines communicating his talented performance to the public. This anniversary was at the same time commemorated in the meeting-house of the third parish in this town. The Rev. Dr. John Codman, of Dorchester, was invited to perform the solemnities on the occasion. This sermon has been published, and is honorable to the author, interesting to the antiquarian, and to the admirers of the puritan character. A sermon was preached also before the Robinson church and society, by Rev. Mr. Cobb, of Taunton.

1832.—*Centennial Anniversary of the birth-day of Washington. February.*—The centennial birth-day of Washington, so peculiarly interesting to the whole population of the United States was celebrated on the 22d instant, by the patriotic young men in this town, with commendable ardor and reverence. The bells and cannon first announced the day, and proclaimed the meridian and decline of the sun. There was a very general attendance on the public exhibitions, and

exercises of the day. An ornamental arch was erected in Town-square, with an inscription, 'February 22d, 1832, Washington's Birth-day,' surrounded by an eagle, and tastefully decorated with flags, which were also suspended in the streets through which the procession passed. A procession was formed in Court-square in the morning, which proceeded to the house of worship of the first parish, where divine service was performed. The ministers of the several denominations in town were seated in the pulpit. The services consisted of a prayer by Rev. Dr. Kendall, reading Washington's Farewell Address by Rev. Mr. Bugbee; when an oration was delivered by Hon. Solomon Lincoln, which was received with much applause by a crowded audience. In portraying the character of the illustrious chief from his earliest days, the orator in eloquent language displayed a judicious selection of traits and incidents which were so pre-eminently conspicuous, and wisely exerted for the honor and glory of our Empire. The services of the sanctuary being closed by a prayer by Rev. Mr. Freeman, the procession, escorted by the Standish Guards and the Plymouth Artillery, proceeded to Pilgrim Hall, where more than two hundred gentlemen partook of a sumptuous dinner, Isaac L. Hedge, Esq., presiding. After the festival, sentiments and toasts were announced, accompanied with music from the Plymouth Band. In the evening a ball was attended by a large assemblage of gentlemen and ladies, and most of the houses in town were handsomely illuminated.

There is a singular felicity in discovering proofs of patriotism and public virtue in those who are soon to be called to the places of such of the present generation as are rapidly passing from the stage of life and usefulness. Much of the welfare and prosperity of our great republic, depend on the purity of principle, and sentiment maintained by the rising generation: on them devolve not only the honor and character of our

nation, but the prosperity and happiness of generations to come. For lessons of instruction, we trust they will look to the eventful lives, and the examples of those virtuous men who have finished their earthly career, and are gathered to their fathers; ever bearing in precious remembrance the heavenly-minded pilgrims of 1620, and the glorious patriots and sages of 1776, by whose toils and sacrifices, under Providence, we enjoy the noblest earthly inheritance. May our young men be directed to discern the true interest of their country, and be cordially united in its pursuit, and may they, like their illustrious progenitors, be renowned for their love of the church, and for a pious attachment to the genuine principles of freedom and the rights of man; cherishing with pious ardor that excellent constitution given them by their renowned sires, nor hastily fritter away its principles with the vain expectation of improvement.

Young Men, sons of the Patriarchs! you have virtue for your inheritance; if you are disposed to be enthusiastic on any object, let your ardent enthusiasm be directed to *Temperance Societies*.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

Just men they were, and all their study bent,
To worship God aright, and know his works
Not hid; nor those things last, which might preserve
Freedom and peace to man.

The first church in New England, founded at Plymouth, in 1620, was a part of the church under the pastoral care of the celebrated John Robinson, the members of which, in consequence of the cruel persecution in their native country, (England,) for their nonconformity, had exiled themselves to Leyden, in Holland, where they had resided eleven years. They were dissatisfied with their situation among the Dutch, and solicitous to find a country where they might enjoy their worship and their opinions, according to their own principles of christian liberty, unmolested. After the most mature deliberation, they resolved to emigrate to the unexplored shores, the uninhabited wilderness of America, well aware that their religion and virtue might make the wilderness and solitary place to be glad, and the desert to rejoice and blossom as the rose.

Their agents, employed to negotiate in England for a territory for settlement, described, in touching language, their feelings and the reasons which induced them to emigrate; that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; that they were knit together in a strict and sacred bond, by which

they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other and of the whole; no small things would discourage them, or make them wish to return home. They had acquired habits of frugality, industry, and self-denial, and were united in a solemn covenant, by which they were bound to seek the welfare of the whole company, and of every individual person. The letters also contained an exposition of their religious creed, as agreeing with the French reformed churches in faith and discipline, and differing only in some incidental points. But they renounced all right of human invention, or imposition in religious matters, not building their hopes on ceremonial observances and on systems of worship. They were actuated by 'a natural and pious desire of perpetuating a church which they believed to be constituted after the simple and pure model of the primitive church of Christ; and a commendable zeal to propagate the gospel in the region of the new world.' They employed Mr. Robert Cushman and Mr. John Carver, as their first agents in 1617, to the Virginia Company, and to obtain security from the king for religious freedom in their proposed settlement. They met with many impediments, and returned in May, 1618, with encouragement from the Virginia Company relative to a grant of territory, and a promise on the part of the crown, 'that the king would connive at them and not molest them, provided that they carried peaceably;' but toleration would not be granted by public authority under his seal.

In February, 1619, Mr. Cushman and Mr. Bradford were dispatched on the same business. After long attendance they obtained a patent, which was then taken out in the name of John Wincob, a religious gentleman in the family of the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to accompany them, but was providentially prevented. Thus this patent was never used, being carried however to Leyden for the people to consider, with several proposals for their transmigration, made by Mr. Thomas

Weston, of London, and other friends and merchants as should either go or adventure with them; they were requested to prepare with speed for the voyage.' —*Bradford's MS. History quoted by Prince.*

The patent which they obtained, was altogether inadequate to their wants and desires; but they resolved, nevertheless, to commit themselves, in faith and confidence, to the arm of Almighty power, and to encounter the perils of the ocean. We learn by Dr. Belknap, that the particular sentiments, as to ecclesiastical government, which were held by the church over which Mr. Robinson was pastor, and which had a peculiar influence upon the conduct and character of the settlers of Plymouth, have been comprised under the following heads:

1. That no church ought to consist of more members than can conveniently meet together for worship and discipline.

2. That every church of Christ is to consist only of such as appear to believe in and obey him.

3. That any competent number of such, have a right, when conscience obliges them, to form themselves into a distinct church.

4. That this incorporation is, by some contract or covenant, express or implied.

5. That being thus incorporated, they have a right to choose their own officers.

6. That these officers are pastors, or teaching elders, ruling elders, and deacons.

7. That elders, being chosen and ordained, have a power to rule the church, but by consent of the brethren.

8. That all elders and all churches are equal in respect of powers and privileges.

9. With respect to ordinances, they hold, that baptism is to be administered to visible believers and their infant children, but they admitted only the children of communicants to baptism. That the Lord's supper

is to be received sitting at the table, (whilst they were in Holland they received it every Lord's day.) That ecclesiastical censures were wholly spiritual, and not to be accompanied with temporal penalties.

10. They admitted no holy-days but the christian sabbath, though they had occasional days of fasting and thanksgiving; and, finally, they renounced all right of human invention and imposition in religious matters.

Having sold their estates in Holland and put the proceeds into a common fund, they began to make preparations for their departure; but so entirely were their minds devoted to religious contemplation and pious exercises, that no secular concerns could be transacted without first offering their aspirations to Heaven for guidance. The aid of the Lord was invoked with sincerity and in faith, in all their worldly concerns. Greatly, indeed, were they strengthened and encouraged by the glorious example and fervent prayers of the venerated pastor.

In the early part of the year 1620, Robinson delivered a discourse, the object of which was, to strengthen and confirm the resolution of those who were about to go to America. They had ascertained that a majority of the congregation were inclined to emigrate, but all who had come to that determination could not immediately prepare themselves for the voyage; those who remained, (being the majority) required of Robinson that he should stay with them, and proposed that Brewster, the ruling elder, should go with the minority; and such was the final arrangement. The minority were to be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those who should stay, with the proviso, that as any should go over or return, they should be reputed as members, without further dismission or testimonial. The others intended to follow as soon as circumstances would permit.

In July of the same year, they kept another solemn day of prayer, and Mr. Robinson again preached to

them; selecting for his text the very appropriate words in Ezra, chap. viii. verse 21. 'I proclaimed a fast at the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.' This passage was singularly and strikingly adapted to the occasion; and the exhortation in this celebrated sermon breathed a noble spirit of christian liberty, and discovered a spirit of liberality, the more wonderful as the age was an age of bigotry; and proceeding, as it did, from one who, at one period of his ministry, had been distinguished as a rigid and unyielding separatist. 'Brethren,' said he, 'we are now quickly to part from one another, and whether I may ever live to see your face on earth any more, the God of heaven only knows; but whether the Lord hath appointed that or not, I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no farther than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal anything to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it, as ever you were to receive any truth, by my ministry, for I am fully persuaded,—I am very confident, that the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no farther than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our good God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it, and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast, where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things.

'This is a misery much to be lamented, for though they were burning and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God; but, were they now living, would be as willing to embrace further light as that which they first received, I beseech you to remember that it is an article of your

church covenant, that you shall be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God. Remember that, and every other article of your sacred covenant. But I must here, withal, exhort you to take heed what you receive as truth. Examine it, consider it, and compare it with other scriptures of truth, before you receive it; for it is not possible that the christian world should come so lately out of such thick anti-christian darkness, and that perfection of knowledge should break forth at once.

'I must also advise you to abandon, avoid and shake off the name of Brownist.* It is a mere nickname, and a brand for the making religion and the professors of it odious to the christian world.' Mr. Robinson also addressed a pastoral letter to his flock, in which he advised them in relation to spiritual matters, exhorting to the practice of charity, and the bearing each others infirmities, and finally bidding his departing brethren a most affectionate farewell. The entire letter may be seen in Morton's Memorial.

On the 21st of July, 1620, the emigrants departed from Leyden to embark at Delfthaven. They were accompanied by many of their afflicted friends, and by some who came from Amsterdam. The next day they embarked for England in a vessel called the Speedwell, and from whence they took passage on board the Mayflower for America. (see page 14.) At the moment of their going on board at Delfthaven, Mr. Robinson fell on his knees, and with tearful eyes, in a most ardent and affectionate prayer, committed them to their Divine Protector. So great was the grief of this little church, all the members of which had been endeared to each other by so many circumstances, and united by so many

* Brownist, the followers of Robert Brown, a sectary, whose principles were in many respects very exceptionable, in the view of sober Christians, and who at length abandoned them himself, and conformed to the church of England.

ties, that, when they finally separated, the agonizing expression of it drew tears even from the eyes of the Dutch, who had assembled on the quay to see them depart, insensible as they usually were to sorrowful emotions. Well might it be said, behold how these christians love one another! It has been stated, that the Plymouth church was formed from the minority of the Leyden church, and the two churches were like a family, separated for a time, but impatient of a reunion. Robinson was still considered pastor of the Plymouth church; and his expected arrival prevented their ordaining another pastor, or teaching elder; and this was the less necessary, as Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder, was eminently qualified to discharge the duties of both elder and pastor. After the death of Mr. Robinson, he did, in fact, perform all the duties of the two offices, but refused to be ordained as pastor. The Rev. John Robinson was not indulged in his anxious desire to join that portion of his beloved flock which came to America; the means of the congregation being exhausted in the transportation of those who came over. He continued at Leyden during the remainder of his life, which terminated March 1, 1625, in the fiftieth year of his age. His death caused the dissolution of the church and congregation over which he presided, and which his talents and his piety contributed so much to render illustrious. A part of their numbers remained in Holland, and a part, with the widow and children, came to Plymouth colony. His posterity are yet numerous in various parts of New England. Mr. Robinson was buried in the charnel of the church in Leyden, assigned for the use of his congregation. Mr. Prince, the Chronologist, who visited Leyden, in 1714, was informed by the ancient people, as received from their parents, that as he was had in high esteem, both by the city and university, for his learning, piety, moderation, and excellent accomplishments, the magistrates, ministers, scholars, and most of the gentry mourned his

death as a public loss, and followed him to the grave. The late Dr. Belknap thus delineates his character. 'Mr. Robinson was a man of good genius, quick penetration, ready wit, great modesty, integrity, and candor; his classic literature and acuteness in disputation were acknowledged by his adversaries; his manners were easy, courteous and obliging, his preaching was instructive and affecting. Though in his younger years he was rigid in his separation from the Episcopal church, by whose governors he and his friends were treated with unrelenting severity, yet, when convinced of his error, he openly acknowledged it, and, by experience and conversation with good men, became moderate and charitable, without abating his zeal for strict and real religion. It is always a sign of a good heart when a man becomes mild and candid as he grows in years. This was eminently true of Mr. Robinson. He learned to esteem all good men of every religious persuasion, and charged his flock to maintain the like candid and benevolent conduct. His sentiments respecting the reformers, as expressed in his valedictory discourse, will entail immortal honor to his memory; evidencing his accurate discernment, his inflexible honesty, and his fervent zeal for truth and a good conscience. He was also possessed, in an eminent degree, of the talent of peace making, and was happy in composing differences among neighbors and in families; so that peace and union were preserved in his congregation.' 'Mr. Robinson,' says Mr. Baylies, 'was a man of uncommon argumentative powers, and maintained a controversy on doctrines, with great ability, against one of the most distinguished and learned professors of the university of Leyden. His farewell sermon is an evidence, not only of his ability, but of a liberality far transcending the bigotry of the age, and would do no discredit to these times.' The followers of Robinson, with their brethren in England, were denominated puritans, from their aversion to the prevailing ceremonies and government of the Epis-

copal church, which they deemed corrupt and immoral; and it was in this that their puritanism consisted, more than in disputable points of doctrine and opinions. That they were utterly opposed to all human injunctions and restrictions in the worship of God, will abundantly appear from the whole tenor of their history and conduct. Although they disclaimed the name of Brownists, they maintained, in common with that sect, 'that every christian congregation ought to be governed by its own laws, without depending on the jurisdiction of bishops, or being subject to the authority of synods, presbyteries, or any *ecclesiastical assembly*, composed of the deputies from different churches.'

A congregational church is a company of professed christians, possessing the exclusive right of self-government in matters of religion, and so far independent as to be amenable to no earthly tribunal for the exercise of its rights and prerogatives. Its rights are, to form its own terms of agreement, its own constitutions of doctrine, its own laws of discipline, accountable only to the great Head of all christian churches.

In Prince's Chronology we have the following summary of the religious tenets of the Plymothean Fathers. They maintained that the inspired scriptures only contain the true religion, and especially, that nothing is to be accounted the Protestant religion respecting either faith or worship, but what is taught in them; and that every man has a right of judging for himself, of trying doctrines by them, and worshipping according to his apprehension of the meaning of them. Their officers were, 1. Pastors, or Teaching Elders, who have the power of overseeing, teaching, administering the sacraments, and of ruling; are therefore to be maintained. 2. Ruling elders, who are to help the pastor in overseeing and ruling. 3. Deacons, who are to take care of the treasure of the church; to distribute for the support of the pastor, the supply of the needy, and

the propagation of religion; and to minister at the Lord's table.

In the year 1624, a minister, by name John Lyford, was sent over to be the pastor of this church, but he proved unworthy of their confidence and regard. He manifested a perverse and factious spirit, and, forming a connexion with John Oldham, equally perverse, they created great disturbance and unhappiness in the church and among the people. A particular history of these transactions may be found in page 73, of this volume. No minister was settled over this church till the year 1629, when Mr. Ralph Smith, a man of ordinary capacity, having found his way to Plymouth, and being a pious honest-minded man, was received and ordained the first pastor of the first church in Plymouth. He continued in that station five or six years, when, from his own sense of incapacity and the persuasions of the people, he resigned his pastoral office. The next who officiated in the sacred office in that church, though not ordained, was the celebrated Roger Williams. This gentleman had been liberally educated, and for a term, a pupil of Sir Edward Coke, the illustrious English lawyer. Mr. Williams possessed brilliant talents and great acquirements. He resided as minister at Plymouth about three years from 1631, but, by his eccentricity of opinions, and as supposed unsound doctrines, his life and conversation became odious to the puritans; and, being discontented with himself, he was, by his own request, dismissed to the church at Salem. The subsequent history of this extraordinary character belongs not to this town, and must be sought for elsewhere. Mr. John Norton, a man of great worth, came over from England in 1635, and preached one winter at Plymouth; and declining to settle, although earnestly desired, he soon after settled at Ipswich, and was, after the death of Rev. Mr. Cotton, translated to Boston, where he was distinguished as a learned divine. Shortly after the dismission of Mr. Smith, in 1636, the Rev. John Reyner was or-

dained his successor. He was a person of great humility, worth, and piety. In 1638, the celebrated Charles Chauncy, afterwards the minister of Scituate and president of Harvard College, was strongly urged to settle in conjunction with Mr. Reyner. Mr. Chauncy preached in Plymouth three years, was greatly and justly admired, but declined to settle on account of some disagreement in point of doctrine, he having embraced anabaptist principles. The church and people were so warmly attached to him that every possible effort was made to prevail on him to become their ordained pastor, but he negatived every proposition to that effect. He would baptize by immersion only. To obviate the objection, it was proposed that he should be permitted to baptize in both forms, but still he declined. At the birth of one of his sons, Mr. R. Hicks, a merchant of Plymouth, gave him fifty acres of land as a mark of his attachment. Governor Carver and Dr. S. Fuller had been chosen the deacons of this church while in Holland; after their deaths their places were supplied by Richard Masterson and Thomas Blossom, both of whom died about the year 1630. After them the deacons were John Doane, William Paddy, and John Cook.* In the year 1632, a new church set off from Plymouth church was formed at Duxbury, and another was soon after organised at Green's harbor, in Marshfield.

In 1641, an ordinance passed the general court, that no injunction should be put on any church or church member, as to doctrine, worship, or discipline, whether for substance or circumstance, beside the command of the bible. About the year 1643 or 1644, many of the inhabitants having left the town by reason of the barrenness of the place, and others contemplating a removal, serious apprehensions arose that the church would soon be dissolved. It was therefore,

* John Cook was subsequently excommunicated by the church, for occasioning many dissensions among them.

proposed, that the whole should remove bodily, and Nauset (Eastham) was chosen as the place for settlement. But on further consideration, the plan was relinquished; but a part of the church agreed to pay for the whole purchase, which had been made in the church's name, and proceeded to establish a new church at Eastham, which is the third branch from the ancient church; and thus was this poor church, (say the records,) left like an ancient mother grown old, and forsaken of her children, in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness; her ancient members being most of them worn away by death, and those of later times being like children translated into other families; and she, like a widow, left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became herself poor. (See page 102.)

On the 16th of April, 1644, the church and society were most grievously afflicted by the death of William Brewster, their ruling elder and kind benefactor. The life of this excellent man was by a kind Providence protracted to the 84th year of his age. His sacrifices in the puritan cause were eminently conspicuous. His perils and sufferings, however trying, were equalled by his humility and patient resignation. Mr. Brewster was born in England in 1560, and educated at the university of Cambridge. He was a man of considerable abilities and learning, and of eminent piety. Though well qualified for the pastoral office, yet his great diffidence would not allow him to undertake the duties of it. In the destitute state however, of the Plymouth church, his public services as elder were highly satisfactory and useful. In his discourses he was discriminating, yet pathetic; in the government of the church, as ruling elder, he was resolute, yet conciliatory.

After leaving the university he entered into the service of William Davison, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Scotland and to Holland; who found him so ca-

pable and faithful, that he reposed the utmost confidence in him. He esteemed him as his son and made him his confidential friend. Davison, while negotiating with the United Provinces, entrusted him with the keys of Flushing, and the states of Holland were so sensible of his merit, as to present him with the ornament of a golden chain. When Davison incurred the hypocritical displeaure of the arbitrary Queen, and was by her reduced to a state of utter ruin and poverty, Mr. Brewster remained his steadfast friend, and gave him all the assistance of which he was capable. Being thoroughly disgusted with the forms, ceremonies, and corruptions in the established church, he withdrew from its communion and united with Mr. Clifton and Mr. Robinson, and their newly formed society met on the Lord's day, at Mr. Brewster's house, and at his expense. He was appointed a ruling elder, and he came over with the minority of Mr. Robinson's church, and suffered all the hardships attending their settlement in this wilderness, and partook with them of labor, hunger and watching; his bible and his arms being equally familiar to him; and he was always ready for any duty or suffering to which he was called. For many months together, he had, through necessity, lived without bread; having nothing but fish for his sustenance, and sometimes was destitute of that. He enjoyed a healthy old age, and was able to continue his ecclesiastical functions, and his field labor, till within a few days of his death, and was confined to his bed but one day. He left an excellent library for that day, valued at £43, as appraised by Governor Bradford, Mr. Prince and Rev. Mr. Reyner. The whole number was 275, of which 64 were in the learned languages.

Elder Brewster's two eldest daughters, Patience and Fear, were left in Leyden, and arrived in the Ann in 1623. Mr. Robinson writes to him from Leyden, 'I hope Mistress Brewster's weak and decayed health will have some repairing by the coming of her daughters,

and the provisions in this and the other ships sent.—(*Plym. Chh. Records.*) Fear was, soon after her arrival, married to Mr. Thomas Prince, and, before 1627, Patience was married to Mr. Isaac Allerton. In the division of the cattle in 1627, Elder Brewster was at the head of lot No. 5. As his wife is not mentioned, it may be presumed that she was not then living. His sons and unmarried daughters, contained in that list, are Love, a son, Wristling, Jonathan, Lucretia, William, and Mary. It would appear therefore, that he had eight children, two of whom, it is supposed, were born in this country. These were probably the two last in the list, William and Mary. In an award made August 1645, by William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prince and Miles Standish, between Jonathan Brewster and Love Brewster, they are mentioned as the only surviving sons of Elder Brewster, in Colony Records, i. 199. There are many descendants from this respectable stock who still reside in Duxbury, Kingston, and Plymouth. When the south part of Harwich was separately incorporated, in 1803, it received the name of Brewster in, honor of the venerable pilgrim. A brig was launched in Plymouth, in 1822, and it received the name of Elder Brewster.

The Rev. Dr. Belknap published an interesting biographical sketch of Elder Brewster, and a very ample character of him, written, as Judge Davis supposes, by secretary Morton, is found in the records of the first church in Plymouth. This is copied into the late edition of the Memorial, and also into the valuable history of the Old Colony, by the Hon. Francis Baylies; from this last production I extract the following elegant paragraph. 'With the most submissive patience he bore the novel and trying hardships to which his old age was subjected, lived abstemiously, and, after having been in his youth the companion of ministers of state, the representative of his sovereign, familiar with the magnificence of courts, and the pos-

sessor of a fortune sufficient not only for the comforts but the elegancies of life, this humble puritan labored steadily with his own hands in the fields for daily subsistence. Yet he possessed that happy elasticity of mind which could accommodate itself with cheerfulness to all circumstances; destitute of meat, of fish and of bread, over his simple meal of clams, would he return thanks to the Lord that he could suck of the abundance of the seas, and of treasures hid in the sand.' By his removal to Leyden with Robinson's church, he sacrificed the most of his estate.* About four or five years after Mr. Brewster's decease, the church made choice of Mr. Thomas Cushman, as his successor in the office of ruling elder; son of Mr. Robert Cushman, who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, as eminently useful in the transaction of their various concerns. The son inheriting the same spirit as the father, and well qualified by gifts and graces, proved a great blessing to the church; assisting Mr. Reyner, as Mr. Brewster had done before him: it being the professed principle, in this church, to choose none for governing elders, but such as are able to teach.

In the year 1654 the church was deprived of their estimable pastor, Mr. Reyner, after about eighteen years very acceptable services. His character as a preacher

* The following note was presented to our pastor by Hon. Judge Davis.

'When *Elder Brewster* resided in Holland, among other modes of exertion for obtaining a livelihood, we are informed that "he set up printing, (by the *help* of *some friends*) and *so had employment enough*." Having lately met with a copy of *Cartwright's Commentaries* on the Book of *Proverbs*, which appeared to have been printed at the Elder's *Leyden* press, or to have been published by him, in that city, in the year 1617, I ask leave, with respect and filial regard, to present the volume to the *First Church* in *Plymouth*, to be carefully kept by their pastor, Rev. *James Kendall*, D. D., and by succeeding pastors of that ancient church, with whom the memory of *Elder Brewster* is peculiarly and deservedly precious.'

Boston, Nov. 20th, 1828.

This volume is in Latin, and contains 1513 pages, large octavo.

of the gospel, and a wise orderer of church affairs, is described by his cotemporaries in a most advantageous point of view. The dissolution of the connexion was occasioned by the reduced state of the church, and by an existing prejudice against a learned ministry by means of sectaries, then spreading through the country. In fact, the troubles and difficulties which this church were called to encounter, were innumerable and almost insupportable; but it was founded on a rock, and sustained by Almighty power. Mr. Reyner, say the church records, was richly accomplished with such gifts and qualifications as were befitting his place and calling: being wise, faithful, grave, sober, and a lover of good men, not greedy of the matters of the world, &c. He dissolved his connexion with the church in November, 1654, to the great regret of the church and people, and was afterwards settled at Dover, N. H., where he remained until his death, in 1669.

In 1648, a meeting house was erected in Plymouth; no dimensions are given, but a bell was attached to it.

In 1634, that ruthless persecutor of puritans, Archbishop Laud, obtained a commission from King Charles I. wherein he, together with the Archbishop of York, and ten more of the minions of Laud, some of whom were papists, were empowered to revoke all the charters, letters patent, and rescripts-royal, before granted from the crown to the several colonies and plantations; and to make such laws and constitutions as to them should seem meet, to remove and displace the several governors and rulers of those colonies, for causes which to them should seem lawful, and others in their stead to constitute, and to punish those of them that were culpable, by mulcts and fines, or banishment from those places they had governed; or otherwise to punish, according to the degree of their offence. To remove any of those colonies as well as their rulers, causing them to return to England, or commanding them to other places assigned, as according to their

sound discretions should seem necessary ; and to constitute judges and magistrates, political and civil, for civil causes, and to fix upon them such a form of government as to five or more of them should seem expedient. And also to make laws and constitutions, ecclesiastical, and to ordain spiritual courts, to determine of the form and manner of proceeding in the same, and the method of appeals, &c. To assign congruent portions, tythes, oblations, and other things for the maintenance of the clergy, and to make provision against the violation of any of their constitutions, by imposing penalties, by imprisonment, and, if the quality of the offence require it, by deprivation of members or life, to be inflicted, &c. This arbitrary commission, subjecting the country to abject slavery, is recorded at large by secretary Morton in the church records, that 'after ages may improve it, as an experiment of God's goodness in preventing its taking effect, to the destruction of the Plymouth and other New England churches. There is no mention throughout this arbitrary commission that the laws and ordinances to be enacted by them should be conformable to the laws of England. In pursuance of the aforesaid commission, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was, by the Archbishop's favor, constituted General Governor of the country. But Mr. Edward Winslow, being then an agent in England for the colonies, by his indefatigable endeavors, aided by the influence of some great men, the storm was happily diverted. Mr. Winslow however shared their vengeance by being committed to the Fleet prison, where he remained about seventeen weeks.*

* The facts were these. The mischievous Thomas Morton, whose turbulent conduct at Mount Wollaston, is noticed in the N. E. Memorial, was employed by Archbishop Laud and others to complain against the colonists before the lords' commissioners for plantations, to which Mr. Winslow presented a counter statement, which was received as satisfactory. Morton was reproved, and others censured for countenancing him. This excited the ire of the

Had the commission been carried into execution, the Plymouth church, and all others in the colonies, must have been entirely annihilated. The great perplexities and troubles occasioned by the new sect of quakers obtruding themselves about the year 1650 and 1660, have already been detailed in a preceding page. The synod of 1662, decided, that all baptised persons were to be considered members of the church, and if not scandalous in their lives, to be admitted to all its privileges, except a participation of the Lord's supper. This decision was acquiesced in, by the Plymouth church, and most of those of New England. But by some it was contended, that this division was departing from the ancient strictness in admitting persons to the Lord's supper, and abandoning the principles, that particular churches ought to consist of regenerate persons only. It gave rise to what has been commonly called the Halfway Covenant, which was deemed a declension from, and indifference to vital religion. The provision, that none should have the rights of freemen but those who were members of some church, was attended with some serious consequences: it prepared the way in some instances for corruption in doctrine and practice, and operated to the injury of churches,

Archbishop; who was induced to avenge himself on Mr. Winslow, personally, alleging, that, being a layman, he had assumed the ministerial office in teaching publicly in the church, and in solemnising marriages. Morton being produced as evidence, testified to the facts. Mr. Winslow replied, that sometimes, when destitute of a minister, he did exercise his gift to help the edification of his brethren, when better means could not be had; and as to the second charge, he acknowledged that he had married some, but as a magistrate, not as a minister; that marriage was a civil ordinance, and he nowhere found in the word of God that it was confined to the ministry; that necessity obliged them to it, having for a long time together at first no minister; that the thing itself was no novelty in the reformed churches, he himself having been married by the magistrate in Holland, in their State House. These replies availed not, and the archbishop, by 'vehement importunity, procured their Lordship's consent to his commitment, upon these and other like charges.'

and the detriment of the cause of religion. No examination for church membership could, in all cases, detect the real motive for the application, and the desire for the enjoyment of civil privileges might be concealed under the veil of religion. Church membership being a qualification for the privileges of freemen, was a source of great dissatisfaction, and was discontinued, partly in 1664, and entirely about 1686. In the years from 1664 to 1666, Mr. James Williams and Mr. William Brimsmead officiated as the ministers of Plymouth, but made no permanent settlement.

1667. *November* 30.—Mr. John Cotton, Jr., son of the famous John Cotton, who was for several years a religious teacher of the first church of Christ in Boston, commenced his ministerial duties in Plymouth, and on June 30th, 1669, was ordained the pastor of the first church. At Mr. Cotton's first settlement there were resident in the place 47 church members in full communion, and on August 1st, Mr. Robert Finney, and Mr. Ephraim Morton were chosen deacons, and were ordained by the elders. In January following, the church agreed to begin monthly church meetings for religious conference, which were constantly attended for many years, and much good resulted from that exercise, being on Saturday afternoon previous to the sacramental communion. The numbers admitted to full communion, the first year of Mr. Cotton's ministry, were twenty-seven. In 1670 fourteen; the next year, seventeen. In 1672, six, and during the 30 years of his ministry, there were 178 members admitted. Mr. Cotton remained in the ministry at Plymouth until 1697; during that whole period he was indefatigable in his exertions to convert the heathen, and no less so in gaining members to his own church. He requested all such members of his church as were heads of families, to attend once in two months, and receive from him sundry questions, which they were to answer from the scriptures. Having read their answers, he gave his

own, and preached on the subject. It had been the practice in the Plymouth church for candidates for admission to fellowship, to present an open relation of the experiences of a work of grace in the heart, but in 1688, some alteration in this respect was made, and it was agreed, that such as were bashful and of low voice, and not able to speak in public to the edification of the congregation, the elders might bring before the church in private, but voting their admission should be before the congregation; they having been examined and heard before by the elders in private; and they stood propounded in public for two weeks. The relations of the women, being written in private from their mouths, were read in public by the pastor, and the elders gave testimony of the competency of their knowledge.

In town meeting, October 29th, 1668, it was agreed to allow to Mr. Cotton the sum of £80 for the following year, one third part in wheat, or butter, one third part in rye, barley or peas, and the other third in Indian corn at stipulated prices. In 1677 the same sum was allowed him, and to continue till God in his providence shall so impoverish the town that they shall be necessitated to abate of that sum. In November, 1680, it was voted to convey to Mr. Cotton the minister's house and homestead, and to his heirs forever, except the lot given to the church by Bridgett Fuller and Samuel Fuller, which reserve is the parsonage at the present time. The homestead conveyed to Mr. Cotton was situated where Job Churchil's and Le Baron's houses now stand. August 4th, 1687, it was proposed in town meeting to allow Mr. Cotton £90 for that year, but it was opposed by a large majority, as exceeding their ability, and it was then agreed that the minister's salary should he paid by voluntary subscription. In 1694, Mr. Isaac Cushman was invited to settle as a religious teacher with a church and society formed in that part of Plymouth which is now Plymp-

ton. The acceptance of Mr. Cushman laid the foundation of an unhappy and lasting division between Mr. Cotton, the pastor, and his church; the pastor strenuously contended that Mr. Cushman ought not to settle before being designated to the office of ruling elder by the church. This controversy continued about three years with considerable warmth, and occasioned the withdrawal of some of the members of the church. At length, many ill reports were propagated, injurious to the reputation and feelings of Mr. Cotton; and a mutual council was called, with a strong desire of a permanent reconciliation of difficulties. But this proving unsuccessful, it was deemed advisable that the pastor ask a dismission, and that the church grant it, 'with such expressions of their love and charity as the rule called for.' Mr. Cotton, accordingly, resigned his office, and at his request, was dismissed October 5th, 1697, to the great grief of a large number in the church and in the town, who earnestly desired his continuance. After this he tarried more than a year in Plymouth; in which time he preached some sabbaths in Yarmouth; and then having a call to Charleston, South Carolina, he accepted the same, and having made up all differences with the Plymouth church, and received a recommendation from several ministers, he set sail for Carolina, November 15th, 1698, where he gathered a church, and was very abundant and successful in his labors; as appears from a daily journal, under his hand, which is yet extant.

Mr. Cotton died at Charleston, much lamented, on the 18th of September, 1699, aged about 60. In the short space of his continuance among that people, there were about 25 members added to the church and many baptized. He was treated with the highest honor and respect, and the church manifested their affection for his memory by taking the charge of his funeral, and erecting a handsome monument over his grave. The church in Plymouth erected a stone to his memory al-

so, in the burial ground, with a suitable inscription. From a diary kept by Josiah Cotton, Esq., I have copied the following sketch of the life of his father. 'John Cotton, son of the minister in Boston, was born March 15th, 1639–40, graduated in 1657, and preached at various places in Connecticut, and afterwards in Old Town, on the Vineyard, where he learnt the Indian language. He had a vast and strong memory, and was a living index to the Bible; if some of the words of almost any place of scripture were named, he could tell the chapter and verse; and if chapter and verse were named, he could tell the words. He sometimes preached in the Indian language, and he corrected the second and last edition of the Indian bible. He prayed in Indian, in his Indian lectures. His method of preaching was without notes. He had a good gift in prayer, in which he greatly enlarged on particular occasions. He was a competent scholar, but divinity was his favorite study. He discharged the work of the ministry to good acceptance, both in public and in private, and was very desirous of the conversion of souls. He ruled his house like a tender parent; was a hearty friend, helpful to the needy, kind to strangers, and doubtless a good man. And yet, what man is there without his failings? He was somewhat hasty, and, perhaps, severe, in his censures upon some persons and things, which he thought deserved it; and that possibly might occasion some hardships he met with, and the violence of some people against him. But the brightness of the celestial world will effectually dispel the blackness of this.' Mr. Cotton strenuously opposed 'the sabbath being called Sunday; as it originated with some heathen nations who were worshippers of the sun; that planet being the object of their idolatry.'

In July, 1676, the church, and all the churches in the colony, (at the motion of the general court,) solemnly renewed covenant with God and one another,

on a day of humiliation appointed for the purpose; wherein, after confession of the prevailing evils of the times, they entered into strict engagements, through the assistance of divine grace for personal and family reformation. The children of the church bore a part in this transaction. The church also renewed covenant in the like method, in April 1692; which transactions were attended with much solemnity, and were, according to the account of the church in Plymouth, of great service to the interest of vital piety. But a few months after the first renewal of the covenant in 1676, it was ascertained that some of the brethren walked disorderly, in sitting too long together in public houses with vain company, and drinking. The church unanimously consented, that a reason should be demanded of the party thus offending, and, if any did not give satisfactory reason, it should be accounted just matter of offence. The elders then propounded that due care might be taken of the children of the church, that they might not transgress.

In 1683, a new house for public worship was erected on the same spot occupied by the other, 45 feet by 40 and in the walls 16 feet, unceiled, gothic roof, diamond glass, with a small cupola and bell.

December 19th, 1686.—Deacon Finney being disabled through infirmities and old age from going abroad, Mr. Thomas Faunce was unanimously chosen deacon in his stead, and was ordained to that office soon after. Deacon Finney died January 7th, 1687, at 80 years of age. His colleague, Deacon Morton, survived until October 7th, 1693. On the 11th of December, 1691, died Mr. Thomas Cushman, the elder, aged 84 years, having officiated in that office near 43 years. December 16th was kept as a day of humiliation, on account of his death; and a liberal contribution was made for his widow, as an acknowledgment of his great services to the church.

In October, 1681, was introduced the practice of

reading the psalms line by line, when singing in meeting; it being proposed by a brother who, as supposed, could not read. The elder performed this service, after the pastor had first propounded the psalm. In the spring of 1694 the pastor introduced a new method of catechising; attending it on sabbath day noons, at the meeting house; the males and females alternately; and preaching on each head of divinity as they lie in order in the catechism. This course was constantly attended through the summer, communion days excepted, and many of the congregation attended. Our present Sunday Schools appear to be a revival of this practice, and reflect honor on our ancestors.

In March, 1694, the church chose George Morton, Nathaniel Wood, and Thomas Clark to be deacons, and nominated deacon Faunce and Isaac Cushman for elders. In the same year Jonathan Dunham and Samuel Fuller received a call, and were ordained to the work of the ministry; the former to Edgarton, Martha's Vineyard, the latter at Middleborough, where a church was at the same time gathered, consisting partly of members from Plymouth church. Mr. Fuller died about 8 months after, aged 66 years. This was a great public loss, as he was a pious christian, and a useful preacher. *

The same month that Mr. Cotton received his dismission the church, engaged Mr. Ephraim Little to officiate in the pastoral duties; and, after about two years probation, he was ordained their pastor, October 4th,

* Mr. Fuller was the son of Dr. Fuller, who came over in the first ship, and was so useful as a physician and surgeon, and a deacon in the church.

The following is recorded in the Old Colony Book of Records.

'Bridgett Fuller and Samuel Fuller, both of Plymouth, for several reasons moving us thereunto, do by these presents freely give unto the church of Plymouth, now in being, for the use of a minister, a certain garden plat, being half an acre more or less, to the only proper use of the church of Plymouth for the ends abovesaid, to said church successively forever.' Dated March 1st, 1664.

1699. The churches assisting were those of Weymouth, Marshfield, Duxbury, and the second in Plymouth. The second church in the town had been formed about a year before, and Mr. Isaac Cushman was their ordained pastor. This was the fourth church derived from the Plymouth church, and was seated at a place since called Plympton. In April, 1699, the, church chose deacon Thomas Faunce, their ruling elder, to assist Mr. Little in church affairs; and he was ordained to that office by Mr. Little, and Mr. Cushman, October 25th, 1699. He was a man of considerable knowledge, eminent piety, and great usefulness, always full of religious discourse. In May, 1706, this church, and all the churches in the province, had a contribution for the Island of St. Christophers, which had been insulted and ravaged by the French.

February 6th, 1707, at a church meeting, the pastor proposed to the church the setting up private family meetings, in the respective neighborhoods in the towns, for family and other spiritual exercises, which was approved and agreed upon. On the 3d of June, 1715, the meeting house built in 1683 was struck by lightning and very much shattered. In June, 1715, a day of fasting and prayer was observed on account of the great sickness and mortality prevailing in the town, 'about 40 dying in a little time; and behold! a gracious God so far heard the cries of his people that the sickness abated, and there was no death for many weeks after.' In the spring of the year 1716, the church unanimously chose Mr. Thomas Foster and Mr. John Atwood to the office of deacons, but the pastor, questioning the lawfulness and expediency of ordination in such cases, declined it for a time; at which the majority of the church, being much dissatisfied, he at last conceded to give them a solemn charge, but without the imposition of hands; which was done accordingly, the pastor beginning with prayer and the elders concluding. July 19th, 1718, Ephraim, the son of

Eleazer Holmes, was baptized on a Saturday at his house, he being at the point of death, and died about six hours after. This being the first instance of that nature in the town, viz. of baptising privately, the pastor sets down the grounds of the proceeding, as follows, '1. The child was undeniably a proper subject of baptism, the mother being in full communion. 2. I never could find that baptism, (viz. the administration of it,) is any where in the scripture limited to the sabbath, or a public assembly, and I always had a greater regard to the scripture than the custom or practice of any minister or church, &c.' In the year 1717, the north part of the town, called Jones River Parish, was set off into a distinct society, and settled Mr. Joseph Stacy as their minister. This was the fifth church springing from the Plymouth church. They were made a township in 1724, and took the name of Kingston. The Rev. Mr. Little died November 23d, 1723, in the 84th year of his age. His remains lie in the Plymouth burial place, being the first minister buried here, after one hundred and three years settlement of the place. 'He was a gentleman more inclined to the active, than the studious life; but should be remembered for his useful services as a minister, and for his exemplary life and conversation, being one of good memory, a quick invention, having an excellent gift in prayer, and in occasional performances also excelling. But what can never be sufficiently commended, was the generosity of his spirit, and his readiness to help all that were in distress.' After Mr. Little's decease, and the ministers of the neighborhood had taken their turns in supplying the pulpit, Mr. Nathaniel Leonard was chosen to succeed him, on the 13th of February, 1724, and was solemnly ordained on the 29th of July following. The churches sent to were those of Taunton, Cambridge, Scituate south church; Pembroke, Middleborough, Bridgewater, north and south churches, and Sandwich. January 22d, 1727, the church elected Mr. Haviland

Torrey and Mr. Thomas Clark to the office of deacon. March 18th, deacon Clark died; on the 29th December deacon Torrey was ordained, with prayer and imposition of hands.

Manomet Ponds was made a precinct, but not incorporated, in 1731. On the 8th of November 1737, a church was embodied there, consisting of 25 members from the parent church; and Jonathan Ellis was ordained their first pastor. This was the sixth derived from the ancient church, and the second of Plymouth. Mr. Ellis was enthusiastic, he participated in all the extravagances and fanatic irregularities introduced by Andrew Croswell, a few years after his settlement, and proceeded to such excesses of religious frenzy, that his people thought proper to dismiss him, preferring, they said, to travel from 7 to 9 miles to meeting, rather than countenance his conduct. A council was convened, and by their advice Mr. Ellis was dismissed, October 31st, 1749. He soon after however, received a call from the church at Little Compton, where he was installed December 5th, 1749. December 26th 1753, Elijah Packard, of Bridgewater, was ordained at Manomet Ponds; sermon by Rev. Mr. Perkins, Mr. Leonard, Mr. Angier, and Mr. Bacon assisting. Mr. Packard continued their minister till 1757, after which the society continued destitute thirteen years. In 1770, April 18th, Rev. Ivory Hovey was installed over the church at Manomet Ponds, where, to use his own words he 'lived peaceably and comfortably.' This pious and venerable man died greatly lamented, November 4th, 1803, four months advanced in his 90th year. Mr. Hovey graduated at Harvard in 1735, and in October, 1740, he was ordained at Rochester south parish, whence, at his own request, he was dismissed in 1769, in consequence of sectarian influence. He kept a diary, comprised in nine octavo volumes of almost 7000 pages. 'How uniform and how tranquil must have been the tenor of his way.' Blessed are

the meek. Mr. Hovey was an exemplary christian, and mutual attachment and love subsisted between him and his people. The successor of Mr. Hovey was Rev. Seth Stetson, who was ordained July 18th, 1804; the sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. Barker, of Middleborough, Mr. Niles and Mr. Judson assisting in the solemnities. Mr. Stetson commenced his ministry reputedly a devotee to Hopkinsian doctrines; after a few years he adopted unitarian principles, and again wavering in his faith, he became a convert to the universalist sentiments, when the connexion was dissolved.

The precinct at Manomet Ponds was incorporated in 1810, when its boundaries were enlarged, including Halfway Ponds. Rev. Harvey Bushnell succeeded Mr. Stetson, and was ordained November 21, 1821. He continued his connexion but a short time, and was succeeded by Rev. Moses Partridge in 1824, who died, greatly lamented, September 25th, of the same year, aged 36 years. Rev. Joshua Barrett, the present pastor, was ordained in 1826.

After several years consideration, the Plymouth church voted their consent to the synod's propositions in 1662, relating to the subject of baptism; it being ever their practice, before, to admit only the children of communicants to baptism.

January 31, 1733–4.—At the motion of the pastor, the first church unanimously voted to desire the deacons to catechise the children between meetings on the sabbath, as soon as the days were sufficiently lengthened; to ask them four or five questions at a time, till they had learnt the catechism through. Our sabbath schools at the present day appear to be a revival of this practice, and reflect honor on our ancestors.

In February, 1743, Mr. Andrew Croswell, a famous itinerant preacher, came to this town, and commenced preaching and exhorting in such a wild manner as to throw the whole town into the utmost confusion. On a sacrament day he publicly declared that he had rea-

son to think that three quarters of the communicants of that day were unconverted. Curiosity induced many people to attend his preaching, and his audience soon became very numerous. His meetings were sometimes continued the whole twenty-four hours, with little intermission, allowing the people no time for serious, calm reflection. At length the disorder became so great, that it appeared as though the people were affected with a religious delirium. Croswell was so lost to all sense of propriety and decorum, that he actually pressed negroes and children into the pulpit to exhort the people, and having their own passions excited, noise and outcry filled the assemblies. Those friends to religion and order who opposed these irregularities, or would not go the whole length with Croswell, were called enemies to religion and God. The Rev. Leonard, the pastor of the first church, gave countenance and encouragement to these extravagant proceedings, and additions were made to his church. This strange infatuation continued several weeks, and an alteration was observable among the people, but a change from open profaneness and irreligion, (always desirable) to a boisterous extravagance of enthusiasm and rash judging of others is not to be deemed a proper reformation. Many serious people were offended, some absented themselves from the communion, some went to other meetings, or stayed at home. The friends of rational sober religion deprecated the system of itinerant preaching, as calculated to subvert the influence and counteract the labors and exertions of settled pastors, destructive to church order and decency, and having a direct tendency to unsettle faithful ministers of churches, and to cause discord among the brethren.

Josiah Cotton, Esq., a member of the first church, and orthodox in his principles, being alarmed for the honor of religion and the prosperity of the church, made a written request, that the pastor would assemble the church to consider the following things :—

'1. Whether a sudden and short distress, and as sudden joy, amounts to the repentance described and required. (2 Corin. vii. 9—11.)

'2. Whether the judging and censuring others as unconverted, against whose lives and conversation nothing is objected, be not too pharisaical, and contrary to the rule of charity prescribed in the Word, and a bold intrusion into the divine prerogative.

'3. Whether that spirit which leads us off from the scriptures, or comparatively to undervalue them, be a good spirit; as, for instance, the disorder and confusion in our public meetings, contrary to the scripture rule, (1 Cor. xiv.) the breaking in upon the order and religion of families, by frequent unseasonable evening lectures, without scripture precept or example, (except one extraordinary case.)

'4. Women and children teaching and exhorting in the public assemblies, contrary to the apostolical direction. Many other things might be mentioned, but are omitted. But inasmuch as it has been publicly suggested that three fourths of this church are unconverted, we would humbly move that we may meet together, in order to know whether they are in charity with one another, and also, that the admission of members may not be too hastily pushed on, till we are better satisfied concerning the spirit that stirs up people to their duty herein.'

It does not appear that this address received the required attention; and a part of the society, dissatisfied with the prevailing disorder, resolved to separate, 'the old lights from the new.' Josiah Cotton, Esq., with eighty others, petitioned to be separated from the old society, which was granted; and in 1744, a new church and society was formed from the old, and was called the Third Church and Congregation in Plymouth. This was the seventh from the ancient church. The venerable Elder Faunce was an opposer of Croswell, and on this occasion a seceder from Mr. Leon-

ard's church. This new society erected a house of worship, which was dedicated by Rev. Mr. Eels, of Scituate, January 5th, and he preached in it again on the following sabbath. This house was located in Kings, now Middle street, and was a neat, convenient edifice, of wood, with a tower and spire in front. The lot was a donation from Thomas Murdock, Esq. Croswell continued to distinguish himself by his arrogance and fiery expressions against many who were esteemed as the best of men in society. He held the opinion, that holiness of heart and life is no good evidence of justification; but that it lays in some feelings, or impressions, or manifestations of the love of God, and joy in him, *without, or beside the scripture.* His many trances, visions, dreams, and extacies, finally cooled the wild proceedings, and terminated the delusion.

In 1744-5, Mr. Whitefield, an English Episcopal clergyman, about twenty-five years of age, itinerating through the country, came to Plymouth by invitation and preached, six sermons to a very numerous auditory. The power of his oratory, accompanied as it was, by very extraordinary gesticulations, and by great fluency and readiness in speaking without notes, together with his new and unusual phraseology, and his zeal in the cause to which he had devoted so much labor, was very captivating with most people, though some did not like and others would not hear him.

Mr. Whitefield came again to Plymouth, November 1755, and preached five sermons in three days, with popular applause.

The Rev. George Whitefield, in 1749-50, made a public confession (in print) that he had been too free with the characters of men, and also in using the apostolic style in his writings, giving too much heed to impulses, and having too much wild-fire in his zeal; all which he condemned, but his admirers approved. —*Cotton's MS. Diary.*

November 7th, 1744.—Rev. Thomas Frink, who had been minister at Rutland, was installed as pastor of the third church and society in this town, when Rev. Dr. Chauncy of Boston preached the sermon. This connexion continued until 1748, when by mutual consent Mr. Frink returned to Rutland. He is said to have possessed strong mental powers, and handsome literary acquirements. He was graduated at Harvard college in 1722.

February 27th, 1745-6.—Thomas Faunce, ruling elder in the first church, died at the advanced age of ninety-nine years. He was the son of John Faunce. The father dying while the son was a child, Captain Thomas Southworth took him by the hand at the grave, led him to his own home, and from that time bestowed on him paternal affection. In the family of Mr. Southworth he was educated and instructed, and here his mind received the rudiments of those principles of humility and piety by which he was so remarkably distinguished in after life. It has been related, the elder has often been heard to say that for this education he should have reason to bless God to all eternity. He was first chosen deacon and afterwards elder, and he was the last that held that office. In those days the office of elder was one of great consideration. An elder was regarded as the virtual representative of the church, and on an equality with the pastor. He was bound to keep a watchful eye over the doctrines preached as well as the principles and practices of the brethren.

The Elder's house stood on the west side of the road near Eel river bridge. The house in which Mr. Josiah Morton now lives was a new addition attached to the ancient house, which was taken down about thirty years ago. Elder Faunce had two sons and two daughters, and the descendants are very numerous.

Rev. Jacob Bacon, who had been a minister of Keene, New Hampshire, about ten years, was installed in the third church of Plymouth, in 1749, of which he

continued the beloved and respected pastor till 1776, when the connexion was dissolved by mutual consent, the society still diminishing in consequence of the war. Mr. Bacon preached about eighteen months at Plympton, second parish, (now Carver) whence he retired to Rowley, where he died 1787, in the eighty-first year of his age. Mr. Bacon was born at Wrentham, 1706, graduated at Harvard college 1731.

July, 1744.—The first society in Plymouth erected a new meeting-house, which they began to raise on the seventeenth, and on the twenty-ninth they began to meet in it. Mr. Leonard preached on the occasion.

May 2*d*, 1745.—Mr. Thomas Foster, son of the late pious deacon Foster, and Mr. Joseph Bartlett were chosen deacons.

October 3*d*, 1754.—Mr. John Torrey, son of the former deacon, was chosen to that office. In the autumn of the year 1755, the Rev. Mr. Leonard labored under many infirmities of body, and, in the spring of 1756, he asked a dismission, which the church granted on certain conditions. The precinct agreed to give him £160, lawful money, and he removed his family to Norton, June, 1757--dismission from his pastoral relation to the church not to be completed till another minister was settled. The connexion with the Rev. Mr. Leonard being thus dissolved, the church used unwearied endeavors for the resettlement of the gospel ordinances among them; but it was two years before their desirable purpose could be accomplished. Among the numerous candidates, were a Mr. Sproat, then settled in Connecticut, afterwards minister in Philadelphia; Mr. Whitney, Mr. West, and not less than four or five others. At length the church and congregation were happily united in the choice of Mr. Chandler Robbins of Branford in Connecticut. The votes in the church being thirty-three to two, in the parish fifty-two to nine. The stipulated annual salary was £100 lawful money, with the improvement of the parsonage, and the privilege of cut-

ting firewood from the parish lot. The parish also agreed to build for his use a parsonage house, which is the one now standing on the north side of Leyden street, and occupied by the present pastor.

Mr. Robbins was solemnly ordained to the work of the ministry, January 30th, 1760. The churches assisting on this occasion were, the first, third, and fourth, of Bridgewater; the first of Rochester; the first of Plympton; the first of Middleborough; Abington; Halifax; Bristol; Taunton; Raynham; Berkley; Milton; and Branford, in Connecticut. The sermon was preached by Rev. Philemon Robbins, of Branford, the father of the pastor elect. On the same day that Mr. Robbins was ordained, the church, pursuant to agreement, and by the advice of the council, gave Mr. Leonard, who was personally present and assisted in the laying on of hands, a dismission in the most cordial terms, and a free and hearty recommendation to other churches. In 1783, the third church and congregation united with the first church and congregation into one parish. The meeting house belonging to the third parish was demolished, and the lot disposed of, leaving an alley-way, six feet wide, through said lot.

In 1794, about fifty persons of high standing in the parish, not in all points satisfied with the ministry of the Rev. pastor, advanced proposals for a separation, and a formation of a new religious society, offering at the same time to erect a new house for worship. This proposal received attention at the hands of the pastor and church, and committees were chosen by the parties. Interviews and consultations ensued, compromise and reconciliation were attempted, but in vain. On the side of the church, the most rigid adherence to rules, precepts, and doctrines, was manifested. The applicants, too honorable to torture the feelings of a conscientious minister, and deeming the peace of society too precious to be disturbed, yielded to the stronger side, consenting still to pay their proportion for the support of preaching preferred by the majority, and

contenting themselves with the report of their committee, which closes as follows: 'Upon the whole, the committee are constrained to lament the narrow policy of the church, in excluding from its communion many exemplary christians, merely on account of their different conceptions of some points of doctrine, about which learned and good men have entertained a great variety of opinions, and this circumstance is more especially a source of regret at this enlightened period, when the principles of civil and religious liberty are almost universally understood and practised; for, whatever stress some persons may be disposed to lay on matters of merely speculative belief, the benevolent genius of the gospel will teach its votaries, amidst all their differences of opinion, to exercise mutual candor and indulgence, that they may, if possible, preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.

June 30, 1799.—Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D. departed this life, aged 61, after a ministry of 39 years over the ancient church and congregation in this town. He was born at Branford, in Connecticut, August 24, 1738. His father was Rev. Philemon Robbins, a native of Cambridge, Mass. who graduated at Harvard college 1729. He graduated at Yale college 1756, and he is said to have been there distinguished as a correct classical scholar, and, besides common acquirements in the classics, he learned the French language, which he read, wrote, and occasionally spoke, through life. In his church records, I find one instance in which he performed the marriage ceremony in the French language. '*Early* impressed with the truth and importance of the christian system, and qualified, by divine grace, for the gospel ministry, he commenced a preacher of this holy religion before he reached the age of twenty.' During his ministry he was ever anxious to be instrumental in softening the callous heart of impiety, and silencing the tongue of infidelity: and his exemplary piety and religious zeal were calculated

to shield him from the reproaches of those who dissented from his doctrines. In him was an example of religion united with taste and accomplishments, courteous manners with an amiable cheerfulness of disposition. The funeral solemnities of Dr. Robbins were performed in the meeting-house, when the throne of grace was addressed in an impressive manner, by the Rev. Mr. Shaw, and an ingenious discourse was delivered by the Rev. Mr. Sanger. His remains were deposited in the Plymouth burial ground, with the puritan fathers, the parish by a committee, directing the solemnities and defraying the expense. On a subsequent sabbath the Rev. William Shaw delivered a well-adapted discourse, which was published and dedicated to his bereaved family and flock.

Dr. Robbins manifested, unceasingly, an interest and solicitude for the cause of religion in general, and for the welfare and prosperity of the church and society of which he was the pastor. In theological sentiment, Dr. Robbins was strictly Calvinistic, believing the *five points* equally essential with any points in holy writ. He also adopted some of the peculiar doctrines and tenets of Hopkins, with which his sermons were often tinctured, to the displeasure of many of his hearers. His occasional sermons were delivered with graceful eloquence and animation, which seldom failed to receive the applause of his audience. When, in May, 1794, he preached before the convention of ministers, from Acts xx. 26: 'I am free from the blood of all men,'—coming out of the house, Dr. Clark of Boston, cordially thanked him for his excellent sermon. Dr. Morse asked him, why he did that, since he did not concur in the sentiments, which had been delivered? He replied, 'I love to see a minister act the part of an honest man.' He observed to a friend, that he felt it to be his duty on that occasion to offer a distinct exhibition of his own views of the christian salvation. His success in producing and maintaining the harmoni-

ous union of his numerous flock, was remarkable. But his peculiar suavity of manners and christian humility, with his felicity of expression, rendered his religious sentiments acceptable to many persons, who would not have well received similar sentiments from any others. He maintained, for several years, an extensive correspondence with English clergymen : one of these, whom he held in much estimation, was Rev. John Newton, rector of Olney in London. Dr. Robbins, coinciding with this gentleman in religious views, imported numerous volumes of his works, for the use of those of his parish who maintained similar sentiments.

A Doctorate in Divinity was conferred on him at Dartmouth college, in 1792, and by the University of Edinburgh, in 1793. His pastoral cares were very extensive, comprising the whole town, with the exception of Ponds parish, subsequent to the year 1781, when the third church and society united with the first. In the discharge of his laborious duties, he was ever found faithful and kind. He preached, chiefly without notes, having before him, as he termed it, the *skeleton* of his sermon. In prayer, he was peculiarly devotional and fervent. His voice was melodious, and his taste for music, both vocal and instrumental, was truly refined. Notwithstanding his parish was one of the largest in the commonwealth, and a considerable portion entertained sentiments opposed to those of the pastor, yet not a family but could unite under the same altar in the bonds of charity. Whatever may have been the diversity of opinion entertained by such a multitudinous assemblage, peace and harmony were seldom interrupted, nor affection and respect for the minister diminished. Dr. Robbins was consoled and encouraged in his ministerial labors by the accession of about fifty members to his church in the latter part of his life, and an uncommon engagedness in the cause of religion among the people of his charge. The poorest family in the parish would meet him at the threshold

with delight, the sick and afflicted relying with perfect confidence on his cordial sympathy and condolence.

Dr. Robbins was destined to live during a remarkable period of our national history. In the revolutionary struggle, he was a most zealous advocate for liberty and independence, and rendered essential advantages to the cause in his sphere of action. He was among the foremost of our patriotic clergymen, and subsequently, when our political hemisphere was darkened by party spirit, he pursued a consistent course in the support of order and good government. He married Jane Prince, of Boston, niece of the late Rev. Thomas Prince, the annalist of New England. This accomplished lady died September 1800, aged 60 years.

Their children who lived to adult age, were five sons and two daughters; three of the sons were graduates of Harvard, one of whom died at Marietta, where he was settled in the ministry. Three sons and a daughter still survive.

Dr. Robbins' publications bore such strong marks of the *divine*, the *gentleman*, and the *scholar*, as to reflect much honor on his name and memory. They are as follows:—

Replies to Essays of Rev. John Cotton, on the practice of the half-way covenant.—Sermon on the death of Madam Watson, consort of George Watson, Esq. of Plymouth.—Sermon on the death of Mrs. Hovey, wife of James Hovey, Esq.—At the ordination of Rev. Lemuel Le Baron at Rochester 1772.—At the annual election, Boston, 1791.—Address commemorative of the French Revolution, 1793.—Sermon on the anniversary of the landing of the fathers at Plymouth, December 22d, 1793.—Century Sermon at Kingston, April 2d, 1794, at the request of its subject, Ebenezer Cobb.—Sermon before the Massachusetts Convention of Ministers, 1794.—Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Eliphalet Gillet, at Hallowell, August 12th, 1795.—Address before the Massachusetts Humane Society, June

14th, 1796.—Sermon at ordination of Rev. Ward Cotton, at Boylston, 1797.

After the death of Dr. Robbins the pulpit was supplied by the ministers who composed the association to which he belonged, and the salary was continued for the benefit of the widow and family. The selection of a candidate to fill the office of pastor to this ancient church and congregation, was considered as a measure requiring great circumspection. A clear majority were in favor of a learned and enlightened clergyman, possessing liberal principles, free from all sectarian dogmas, who would preach the christian salvation in its pure simplicity, while a respectable minority manifested a conscientious adherence to the faith and doctrines of their late beloved minister, whose memory they cherished with filial affection. Their feelings and desires were to be consulted, and it would have been unkind to deprive them of their rights or to control their opinions. The parish committee proceeded to the choice of a candidate, Mr. James Kendall, a native of Sterling, who commenced his probationary course on the 2d sabbath in October, 1799. In December, he received an invitation to become the pastor of the church and congregation, which with much deliberation, he accepted. The call was first given by the church,* 23 to 15, and concurred in by the congregation, 253 to 15. A committee of three from the church, and five from the parish, was chosen to make preparations for the ordination. The day appointed for that solemnity was January 1st, 1800; and the

* The church has no power to contract with, or settle a minister; but that power resides wholly in the parish, of which the members of the church, who are inhabitants, are a part. But the parish, from an ancient and respectable usage, wait until the church have made choice of a minister, and request the concurrence of the parish; and if the parish do not concur, the election of the church is a nullity; and if the parish do concur, then a contract of settlement is made wholly between the parish and the minister, and is obligatory on them only.—*Bigelow's Digest.*

churches invited were, second church in Andover, church in Sterling, first church in Cambridge, church in Dorchester, third in Newbury, Brattle street in Boston, church in Kingston, third church in Bridgewater, church in Carver, church in Marshfield, second in Plymouth, second in Rochester, first in Middleborough. Also, were invited President Willard, Rev. Dr. Tappan, and all of the government of Harvard college. The sermon was preached by Rev. Mr. French, of Andover, and the other solemnities were performed by Rev. Dr. Peter Thacher, Rev. Dr. Tappan, Rev. Mr. W. Shaw, and Rev. Mr. Howland, of Carver. On the following sabbath two excellent sermons were preached by Dr. Tappan, which were published. Rev. Mr. Kendall graduated at Cambridge, in 1796, and was a tutor there when he received the invitation to settle. The honorary degree of D. D. was conferred on him at Harvard university in 1825. The conditions of settlement were, 600 dollars salary, and the improvement of the parsonage, consisting of a house and garden, and several pieces of land and meadow; subsequently, one hundred dollars were added, in consideration of fire wood.

In October, 1800, the Rev. Dr. Dwight, then President at Yale college, passed a sabbath in this town, and officiated in our pulpit. In his third volume of travels, he makes the following remark, 'On Sunday, we found a large and very decent audience in the old church. A singular custom was here exhibited to us; more than fifty bills were read by the clergymen, desiring the prayers of the congregation for families in affliction. They were, principally, occasioned by the death of nine inhabitants, almost all of them at sea, which had either happened, or been first heard of, during the preceding week. In such a case, it seems a bill is presented for every branch of a family, which is peculiarly interested in the melancholy event.' This practice is now, in a great measure, discontinued.

In 1801, the third congregational church of Plymouth was organized from the first church, and is the seventh branch from the original stock, now existing. In 1802, deacon John Bishop and one hundred and fifty three others were incorporated into a society, by the name of the third congregational society. In their petition, they stated the first parish consisted of 3044 souls, and more than 500 rateable polls, making it inconvenient to worship in one house. This new society erected a house of worship, in 1801, in a pleasant situation fronting the *training green*, sixty feet by fifty-two, with a cupola and ball. Their first minister was Rev. Adoniram Judson, who had formerly been pastor of a church and society at Malden, county of Middlesex. He was installed May 12th, 1802, and becoming a baptist, the connexion was dissolved August 12th, 1817.

Mr. Judson was held in respect for his moral virtues, and his meek and pious demeanor. He died in Scituate, in 1826. The oldest son of Mr. Judson has been a zealous and respectable Baptist Missionary in the Birman empire, since the year 1812. The Rev. William T. Torrey succeeded Mr. Judson, and was installed January 1st, 1818, and he was dismissed March 12th 1823. It is understood that the cause of his dismission existed with the church, there being a majority in the congregation in his favor.

On the 26th of November, 1814, the first church was called to mourn the death of a pious and beloved brother, deacon William Crombie, aged eighty-three years. He was a native of Andover, and officiated in the office of deacon nearly thirty-eight years. 'He was,' says the church records, 'a good man and an excellent spirit was in him.' This was fully verified during the whole course of his life, being meek and humble in his temper, few men exhibited clearer evidence of a pure and upright heart. He had several children; but one only, the widow of the late Dr. Nathaniel Bradstreet, of Newburyport, survives.

In 1814, a new church and society were formed at Eel river, from the first and third congregations, and being incorporated, they erected a meeting-house in that village, which is now undergoing improvement in a better style, and will accommodate the inhabitants in that vicinity and South Ponds, who were distant from three to six miles, from their former place of worship. This is the fourth congregational church and society in Plymouth, and the Rev. Benjamin Whitmore is their minister.

A Baptist church was constituted here in 1809, and the Rev. Lewis Leonard was ordained their first pastor. Rev. Caleb Blood, of Boston, preached the sermon. Mr. Leonard was succeeded by Rev. Stephen S. Nelson, July 28th, 1820, who continued his connexion till May 1823, when Rev. Benjamin Grafton became their pastor. He resigned in May 1829, when the office devolved on Rev. Thomas Conant, their present pastor. In 1821, this society erected a commodious house of worship, in Spring street.

We have a small society in town of the denomination called Christians. The sentiments of this denomination have been explained at large by Rev. Mr. Clough. They object to the Trinity and other Calvinistic doctrines. By some they are called Free-will Baptists. Mr. Joshua V. Himes was ordained their minister, in 1825. This connexion was soon dissolved but without any faulty conduct on his part.

In 1824, Rev. Frederic Freeman succeeded Rev. William T. Torrey, as pastor of the third church and congregation in this town, and was installed accordingly, having been ordained in North Carolina, as an Evangelist. Their house was, in 1827, enlarged 52 feet by 12, making its present dimension 72 feet by 52, and the interior of the lower part was made new, substituting a more modern style. The house has also a spacious room, 52 feet by 16, which is used for parish and occasional meetings.

The third church are in sentiment as they have ever been, Calvinistic.

In 1826, the first Universalist Society in Plymouth was incorporated, and they erected a meeting-house, on the north side of Leyden street, 50 feet by 70, with a cupola and bell. Rev. James H. Bugbee is their ordained minister. This society, as a body, belong to that class of Universalists who disbelieve the doctrine of future punishment.

In 1830, the third congregational church were agitated by a spirit of dissension towards the present pastor. A considerable portion of the church manifested a desire that the pastoral connexion should be dissolved, but it was otherwise determined, and attempts were then made to compromise by an amicable division of the church; and it was proposed, by the pastor, to call a mutual council, not to effect a reconciliation, but to sanction the measure of a separation. The council convened accordingly, on the 17th of March, and the result of their deliberations was a separation of the disaffected party, to be formed into a distinct church. The seceding division then convened a council, April 13th, by whom they were organized, and they are denominated the *Robinson Congregational Church.* This is the fifth in Plymouth, and a society consisting of seceders from the third congregation, having united with them, they, in 1831, erected a handsome house of worship in Pleasant street, and engaged Rev. Charles J. Warren, as their religious instructer. Thus our churches multiply by divisions and subdivisions. To notice the numerous admissions, removals, and instances of discipline, and the comparative states of the several churches, would be to increase the number of pages without benefit or interest to my readers.

In the year 1831, the first parish in Plymouth came to the resolution to demolish their old meeting-house, which was in a state of decay, having stood eighty-seven years. A large proportion of the pews, from

the numerous changes that had taken place for years past, were in the hands of persons not connected with the parish; and those who were desirous of becoming proprietors, would not involve themselves in the expenses to which a decayed house is constantly liable. A committee of disinterested persons was appointed to appraise the pews in the old house, and the building was sold at auction. In bidding adieu to this ancient temple, to which the society retained a devoted attachment, as the house of their fathers worship, the Rev. Dr. Kendall, on the 10th of April, 1831, preached an appropriate sermon in his excellent style, in which he gave a brief history of our ancient church, and a detail of the several societies derived from it. During the interval of eight months in which the new house was in building, the church and congregation held their public worship in the county court-house, where they were provided with convenient accommodations.

New Meeting-House of the First Parish.

'Beautiful in its elevation is Mount Zion.'

On Wednesday, the 14th of December, 1831, the new meeting-house of the first parish was dedicated to the worship and service of God. A numerous and highly respectable congregation was assembled. Prayers and reading the scriptures were performed by Rev. Mr. Kent, of Duxbury, Rev. Mr. Goodwin, of Sandwich, and Rev. Mr. Cole, of Kingston. The Rev. pastor, Dr. Kendall, delivered an excellent catholic sermon, from Ezra vi. 16. Among the various topics, the speaker adverted with reverence to the venerable pastor of the pilgrims, and his puritan associates. In speaking of the sacred temple, his invocation is, 'May these consecrated walls never reverberate with licentious opinions, the shouts of fanaticism, nor the denunciations of bigotry.' The services were closed by a fervent and impressive prayer by Rev. Mr. Brooks, of

Hingham. During the services, four hymns were sung, three of which were composed for the occasion.

The worshippers in this house are Unitarians; believing that 'Unitarian christianity is the only system of faith and duty which can be drawn from the New Testament by a just interpretation of its contents.'

This noble edifice is composed of wood, and is a beautiful specimen of church architecture. It was designed by George W. Brimmer, Esq., of Boston, and executed by an ingenious artist, Mr. Richard Bond, of Boston, who completed the work in a manner highly creditable to himself and satisfactory to the parish.

The body of this church measures 71 feet by 60, and from the floor to the spring of the ceiling is 36½ feet,—is without galleries, except that for the singers, which is in the tower, over the entrance into the lower part of the house, and opens under a large gothic arch of 42 feet base. This gallery is lighted by the high gothic window in front, and thus the whole length of the building is seen from the pulpit. The floor accommodates 124 pews, the interior of which are painted light green, while the exteriors are in beautiful imitation of oak, by Mr. Whitaker, and are capped with mahogany. The side windows, which are eighteen feet high, and seven feet wide, contain 284 diamond lights each;—the glass being ground, the light is uniform and agreeable. The pulpit is of common form, the pannels and balusters gothic, and the whole painted in imitation of oak. A crimson silk curtain is suspended from a gothic cornice, and on each side of the pulpit is a candelabra supporting a handsome bronze lamp; and there is also on each side a smaller lamp, on a moveable stand. The house is warmed by two furnaces in the lower apartment, the heat ascending through a niche on each side of the door. The front is four feet wider than the body of the church, has a tower projecting 11½ feet, and rising 87 feet in height, with encircled octagon pillars at the corners, surmount-

ed with ornamental pinnacles, and has wings, with similar pillars at their corners and on the sides. The wings contain the stairs which lead to the singers' gallery and to the belfry. The front door is pannelled and of a low arch, over which is a quatrefoil band. Above this is the front window, 36 feet high and 12½ feet wide, containing 540 diamond lights, and is divided, like the side windows, into three divisions, with gothic scrolls at the bottom. The whole expense of this superb building, including the cellar, does not exceed $10,000. In the afternoon on the day of the dedication, the pews were offered at auction, and 103 were sold at an advance above the appraisal of nearly $1800. The amount of sales has been sufficient to defray the expense of building the new house, to pay the pew holders in the old house, and leave a surplus of about $2,500.

During the building of this house, the workmen refrained entirely from the use of ardent spirits.

The first house of worship in this town was erected in 1648, it stood lower down in the town square than the site of the present house: and was furnished with a bell. In 1683, another was built on the same spot, 45 feet by 40, and 18 feet in the walls unceiled, gothic *roof, diamond glass*, with a small cupola and bell. In 1744, a third church was erected on this consecrated ground, the raising commenced on the 17th of July, and on the 29th of the same month it was opened for public worship. The dimensions were about 72 by 64 feet, and the spire was 100 feet high, surmounted with a handsome brass weathercock. In the same year a seceding society erected a meeting house in Middle street; this was the effect of great zeal in *new light times*, and there was no other secession during the remainder of the last century. Since the commencement of the present century, eight houses for public worship have been erected here, either by new societies or by rebuilding.

The ancient church stands at the present time on a

firm basis, and is in prosperity, worshipping the God of our fathers, rejecting some of their dogmas, but cherishing the same essential principles of christian faith and practice, and acquiescing to the fullest extent in the free enjoyment of each individual in the mode of worship which conscience may dictate.

In the year 1819, Dr. Francis Le Baron, then in public service at New York, presented an elegant set of *desk bibles* for the use and benefit of the first church and society in Plymouth, as a testimony of his respect and regard for the *society* with which his ancestors had been connected, and the church where he received christian baptism.

In 1822, Hon. Judge Davis having had the loan of the church records for the purpose of compiling a new edition of Morton's New England Memorial, with considerable additions, and having for that purpose extracted about one hundred pages from said records, proposed to vest the copy-right of this new edition of the Memorial in the first church and society of Plymouth, the profits to be applied to the relief of the poor. But subsequently he proposed that the copy-right should be transferred to the Pilgrim Society, on the condition that the said society deliver to the first church one hundred and ten copies of said work for every 3000 copies which they may publish, and in the same proportion for a greater or less number, being in full for a consideration of the transfer.

It is remarkable that the meeting house which was built in 1683, was, on the 3d of June, 1715, struck by lightning, and considerably shattered, and on the 22d of November, 1831, the present house, when nearly finished, suffered a similar fate; the north-east pinnacle was entirely destroyed, with some other damage, and the whole edifice narrowly escaped conflagration. Fortunately the building was insured, and the expense of repairs was paid by the underwriters. A few years since, a large elm tree standing within a few yards of

the same place, was so much injured by lightning that it died soon after. These incidents serve to show the expediency of lightning-rods and of insurance.

In closing this history our spirits are animated with the prospect of amendment in our moral world, and in our day. The unrighteous spirit of intolerance and persecution, binding down the human mind by bonds of religious faith, is evidently on the wane. We have a cheering hope that our moral feelings will no longer be disturbed by the practice of aspersing the characters of pious and exemplary men on the grounds of difference of opinion in mysterious points of doctrine. This uncharitable temper has too long been a scourge to society, and we can have no sympathy with proceedings so manifestly inconsistent with the christian character. By indulgence these guilty passions gain strength, harden the heart of man, and lead to licentiousness. But we rejoice that the day has arrived when every citizen may think as he pleases upon subjects of religion, and quietly offer his devotions in whatever temple, and whatever form his own judgment and conscience may prescribe for him.

A learned, and candid spirited clergyman having perused the foregoing church history, offers the following as a closing paragraph.

'In reading over the foregoing pages, the writer would unite with his candid readers in a grateful acknowledgment of the rich mercies of the God of heaven to this most ancient church of the United States. The little band of Pilgrims, who stepped upon this inhospitable shore 212 years ago, with no support but the Almighty arm, so often made bare for their protection, have now become a great people. And we trust they are destined by Divine Providence, as they have hitherto done, still to perform an important part in forming the character of the American church and the American empire.'

APPENDIX.

Free Schools.—The first Free School in New England ordained by law, was established in Plymouth in 1671, under a grant, made by the government of the Colony the preceding year, 'of all such profits, as might or should annually accrue to the Colony, from time to time, for fishing with nets or seines at Cape Cod, for mackerel, bass or herrings, to be improved for and towards a Free School in some town of this jurisdiction, provided a beginning were made within one year after the grant.' Plymouth made a beginning within the time limited, by establishing a school under the instruction of Mr. John Morton, who was a nephew of the Secretary. In the following year, the court, (the governor and assistants) to whom the general court (the governor, assistants and deputies) had intrusted the care and appropriation of the grant, declared the school in Plymouth entitled to its avails, and appointed Thomas Hinckley, steward of the said school, to take charge of its funds. In the same year, 1672, the profits and benefits of the Agawam and Sippican lands were appropriated by the town to the maintenance of the Free School then begun in town, 'and not to be estranged from that end.' Though Mr. Morton's school was strictly entitled, by the terms of the colony grant, to its benefit, yet, as he only taught 'to read, write, and cast accounts,' it failed perhaps under his instruction to meet the expectations of the country. In the year last mentioned, 1672, a Mr. Corlet, a graduate

of Cambridge, was the instructer. It would seem, that the higher standard of school learning, under Mr. Corlet, did not please the town much better, than the plain education, under Mr. Morton, had satisfied the government. Two years after, viz. in 1674, the town, as if apprehensive that the Latin and Greek were encroaching on the more useful department, after limiting the grant, which it had made of the Agawaam and Sippican lands, to such only as had purchased of the Indians previous thereto, enter these directions, 'that their children be instructed in reading, when they are entered in the Bible; and also, that they be taught to write and cipher, beside that which the country (that is, the colonial government) expects from said school.' In calling this school the first Free School in New England ordained by law, we are not unmindful of the law of 1647, in the neighboring colony of Massachusetts. But that law did not ordain Free Schools, but a reasonable tax on the scholars was left to the discretion of the towns. Nearly all the schools in that colony in 1671, and much later, were supported in part by such a tax; but there can be no doubt that in Boston, a free school actually existed before this period, and perhaps one or two elsewhere in that jurisdiction.

The charge of the Free School in Plymouth was thirty three pounds per annum. Previous to this excellent institution, common school learning, we are to infer, was easily accessible. Among the court orders are entries like this: 'Benjamin Eaton, with his mother's consent, put to Bridget Fuller, *being to keep him at school two years*, and employ him after, in such service as she saw good, and he shall be fit for. February 11th, 1635.'

Notice is again taken of the free school by the general court in 1674, and the Cape Fishery money appropriated to it. It is probable that Mr. Corlet left the school this year, and in the next commenced that most distressing period of colonial history, the war with King

Philip. There was no grammar master until 1699—in the mean time the Cape funds were diverted, and distributed among all the towns in the jurisdiction. The school has since been kept up under a regular succession of grammar masters, though after the diversion of the Cape funds, small assessments were made on the scholars, according to their learning. The great importance of free schools has been fully appreciated by the present generation, who have been as well disposed as their progenitors, and better able, to promote them. In 1803, 1220 dollars were voted for all the schools in town, and in 1831 and for several preceding years 2625 dollars have been appropriated to their support. There are fifteen districts, among which the sum of two thousand dollars is annually distributed, according to the number of children in each between six and sixteen, which number in the whole, by a census taken in 1827, amounted to 1028. In 1795 a school for girls was instituted by the town, to be kept in the summer months, at intervals of the town school. The central school district was separated in 1826, at which time the town, or high school as it has been since denominated, was placed on an improved footing, and a quarterly examination is had for admission to it from all the districts.

The first school house was built by subscription in 1705, and stood a little south of the meeting house of the first parish; in the next year, however, it was purchased by the town. The present school house, on the northerly side of the meeting house, was built in 1765. It appears to have been the usage for a long series of years to vote a school for three, four or seven years. A vote of this kind in 1725, locating the school in the centre for seven years, giving 'the ends' liberty to deduct their rates, to support a school among themselves, led to the immediate incorporation of Kingston. The first notice of district school houses is in 1714, viz. one at Jones river, and one at Eel river.

From 1661 to 1831, fifty persons, natives of this town were graduated at Harvard university, and two or more at Yale college. Of this number thirteen were congregational ministers, twelve lawyers, nine physicians, and thirteen or more merchants; the residue were engaged in various pursuits.

Our sunday school first commenced in the third parish in the year 1818. In the first parish the school was established in 1827. The number of children who have been members of the school belonging to the first parish has been from one hundred sixty to two hundred, and the number of teachers twenty-five. And it is a remarkable circumstance, that up to August, 1831, there had not occurred a death of any person who has been connected with it either as teacher or pupil.

A sunday school is now established in each of the parishes in town, with a single exception. Great praise is due to our sabbath school teachers for their zeal and faithfulness in imparting christian knowledge to our youth. The whole number of attendants during 1831 was about four hundred, males and females. It is indeed to be desired that all our youth may enjoy the benefit of this inestimable institution, that their earliest impressions may be the nature of the gospel, and the moral and religious duties which it enjoins.

Statistics.—Census of the town, at different periods.

1764. 256 Houses, 373 Families. 2246 persons, including 77 Negroes and 48 Indians.

1776. Whites only 2655.

1783. including 35 negroes, 2380, number diminished by the war.

United States Census.

1791	souls	2995
1800		3524
1810		4228
1820		4384
1830		4751

Increase last ten years 367; 8¼ per. cent.

Number of dwelling houses in 1815, 409. In 1831, 543. Number of rateable polls in 1831, 1091. Number of shops for the sale of West India and English goods in 1831, about 30.

The annual sum appropriated for town expenses is from $8000 to $9000, besides the labor on the roads.

But a few of the dwelling houses are of ancient date, or in antique style, eight or ten are three stories, and six or eight are of brick. Those recently erected, are in the style of modern architecture. The largest proportion are painted of a light color, with green blinds, giving them an air of neatness and elegance. Strangers who visit us generally express themselves agreeably disappointed, and allow that our town will compare with any village in New England. In the number of houses, and in architectural taste, our improvements have been, and are now, increasing more rapidly than ever before; and we gratefully acknowledge, in common with our fellow citizens, that we live in the best country, and in the most prosperous age, which the world ever knew.

The following *streets* and *squares* received their designation in 1823.

Leyden Street is that which was laid forth in 1620, being the first street ever opened in Plymouth. It extends from the town square to Water Street.

Market Street commences at the town house on the westerly side, and Bramhall's corner, so termed, on the east side, and extends south only to the stone arch bridge.

Summer Street extends south westerly from Market Street, to the fork of roads beyond the rolling mill.

Spring Street is the avenue extending northerly from Summer Street to the Burial Hill. It was called *Spring Lane* by the first planters, as it led from their

Fort Hill to a well known spring near the upper corn mill.

High Street extends southwesterly from Market Street, over rising ground, crossing Spring Street, to Trible's corner on the east side, and Bartlett's corner on the west side.

Pleasant Street extends from the stone arch bridge, over the hill known by the name of Watson's Hill to the Training Green.

King's Lane is the avenue anciently known by that name, leading from Summer street, and crossing Little Brook to the termination of High street.

Mill Lane is the avenue from the lower corn mill to Summer street.

Sandwich Street is the ancient street on the south side of the town brook, extending south-easterly from the stone arch bridge by Training Green to Wellingsly brook. This is the post road to Cape Cod.

North Street begins at Warren's corner on the south side, and Dr. Cotton's corner on the north side, and ends at Water street.

Water Street commences at the termination of North street, and extends southerly by the head of the wharves, across the lower bridge, and ends at its junction with Sandwich street.

Middle Street, formerly known by the title of King's street, leads from Main street to Cole's Hill.

Main Street begins at Hedge's corner on the east side, and at Wetherell's corner on the west side, and extends north-north-west by the head of North street, to Cotton's corner.

Court Street begins at Cotton's corner, and extends north-westerly to Wood's lane. The elm trees on the west side of this street were planted in 1830.

School Street is the avenue which extends northerly from the first meeting house by the head of the gardens to the new court house.

North Alley extends northerly from Middle Street to North Street.

South Alley is the opposite alley leading from Middle Street to Leyden Street.

Training Green is a handsome square on the south side of the town brook, laid out many years since by the town in perpetuity, for the convenience of training companies.

Town Square is a handsome public square at the head of Leyden Street, directly in front of the meeting house of the first parish, having the old court house (now town house) on the south, and the dwelling house and garden of Mr. Brigham Russel, formerly owned and occupied by Capt. Thomas Davis, deceased, on the north side. This square has a gradual descent into Leyden Street, and unites with Water Street. It is ornamented by six majestic elm trees, the planting of which the present author witnessed in 1784, being brought from Portsmouth by Capt. Davis. The largest now measures in circumference 8 feet 8 inches, averaging about 2 inches annual growth in a very ordinary soil.

Court Square, formerly Training Green, is in front of the new court house and Mrs. Nicholson's boarding house. The elm trees in that square were planted in May, 1832.

Public Buildings. We have in town eight houses for public worship, where thirty years ago two were found sufficient. The busy workings of sectarianism have excited a singular passion for multiplying meeting houses, as though religion requires one for every chapter in the bible, and our religious societies are so minutely divided that our ministers receive but a slender support. When will the varying sects return to the common fold?

The County Court House, in our Court Square, is allowed to be an elegant edifice. It was erected in 1820, of brick, and in point of symmetry and just proportion, it is in perfect keeping with the best models

of modern architecture. On the lower floor is a fire-proof apartment for each of the offices of clerk of the courts, the register of deeds and of probate, and also a jury-room. Above, there is an elegant court chamber, a jury-room, a law library apartment, and two jury-rooms behind the gallery. The jail was also erected in 1820. It is of unwrought stone, except the front which is wrought, and is in all respects adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. The house for the jail-keeper is of wood, and is a handsome and commodious building. The old county court house is converted into a town house, and we have school houses in the centre district.

Pilgrim Hall. For a description of this edifice, the reader is referred to page 202. The front has never been finished with the doric portico, according to the original design, and that deficiency cannot be supplied until the requisite addition to our funds can be obtained.

Agriculture. In the general view the land in this town is hilly, barren, and sandy, but a border of considerable extent on the sea board having been well cultivated, consists of a rich loamy soil, capable of yielding any agricultural production. The art of agriculture, however, has never been an object of study and consideration by the inhabitants of the town,—the pursuits of commerce and navigation being more congenial to their habits and taste than the labors of husbandry, especially on a soil not sufficiently fertile to encourage their efforts. There are, nevertheless, locations near the shore, where we have seen fields of Indian corn, potatoes, rye, wheat, clover, and other cultivated grass, which would bear a comparison with the best farms in any part of the Old Colony. Instances have occurred of the produce of four tons of English hay per acre, and some of our fields have yielded summer wheat of excellent quality at the rate of more than thirty bushels per acre; and the present season (1831)

a premium has been awarded to one of our industrious farmers for the production of forty-three bushels of rye on one acre and seven rods. But these instances are stated as the maximum and not the average. Our meadows generally will average from one and a half to two tons, and our corn land about twenty to thirty bushels per acre. Orchards have not generally flourished to much advantage in this town. Although the trees are remarkable for rapid growth and healthy aspect, it is seldom that they yield a correspondent abundance of fruit. The peach tree has so uniformly disappointed our expectations, that it would appear that our climate is uncongenial to its nature. Our gardens in general are sufficiently productive for all the purposes of culinary and domestic consumption, and some there are which exhibit the skill of the botanist and horticulturist. The vine has been recently introduced into our gardens, and there is no reason to doubt but that those who are disposed to bestow the requisite care and attention on its culture, will be able to furnish their tables with the luxurious fruit, in sufficient plenty, though it is not to be expected or desired that the wine press will ever be in requisition among us.

The ancient Warren farm, situated at Eel river, three miles south of our village, has been, from the first settlement, in the possession of the Warren family, having descended from Richard Warren who came over in the Mayflower, 1620. This very valuable tract, consisting of about four hundred acres, has for a long time suffered deterioration from mismanagement and neglect. It is now in the possession of John Thomas, Esq., who has commenced its renovation. This gentleman having acquired a knowledge, both theoretical and practical, of the modern mode of culture, has, with commendable enterprize and industry, applied himself for two years past to improvement, in conformity with it. He has procured a stock of short-horned cattle, and is extending their breed. The sea shore furnish-

es rock weed and kelp in abundance for compost manure, and he has greatly enriched the meadow land and prepared fifty acres for mowing the next season. He has growing a large number of the white mulberry trees, and is making considerable progress in the culture of silk.

The contiguity of this farm to the sea shore greatly enhances its value.

There is another valuable farm, near the northern limits of the town, which, in 1665, was the seat of Governor Prince. This farm is bounded on its whole length by the sea bank, and consists of a variety of soils. It is now in the possession of Isaac L. Hedge, Esq., who, duly appreciating the value of a long neglected farm, is now engaged in meliorating its condition, in all respects according to modern improvements. He has, at great expense, erected a large and convenient farm house and out building, and stocked the place with English short-horn cattle. His barn and yard for swine are on a plan admirably adapted for the making compost manure, and the adjacent shore furnishes abundant materials for the purpose. There is in the centre of the farm an immense mass of clay for the manufacture of brick, which is conducted on a large scale. There is a beautiful brook passing through the farm and emptying into the sea. A considerable number of acres had never received the plough till the last summer, and the soil is excellent. Mr. Hedge has paid great attention to fruit trees and gardening, and he, with Mr. Thomas is presenting excellent examples for imitation.

Below Plymouth town, bordering on Sandwich and Wareham, is a district of country, nearly twenty miles square, that is chiefly covered with wood, for the growth of which it is more valuable than for any other purpose. This place has always been well stocked with deer, but they are thinned off annually by the hunters. In January, 1831, a heavy snow, laying

about three feet deep, so impeded their motions as to prove fatal to a large proportion of the stock. A number of people provided themselves with snow-shoes, and pursued these beautiful animals, killing and capturing not less than two hundred. About forty were taken alive.

The pine commons of Wareham, Sandwich, and Plymouth, have ever been the favorite haunt of the fallow deer, where this timid animal finds some sequestered dells, some secret recesses; a covert from his enemy man, where

> 'He bursts the thicket, glances through the glade,
> And plunges deep into the wildest woods.'

About the year 1730, John Rider, of Plymouth, killed three deer at a shot, while feeding in his rye-field. This ancedote was related in England by General John Winslow, in very high circles. It excited the smile of incredulity, yet the event is most true.

The valuation in 1831 gives to Plymouth woodland 11,662; unimproved, 19,463; unimprovable 734 acres.

Commerce and Navigation of Plymouth, past and present.

In 1670 a valuation states the fish boats thus:

Four at £25 - - -	£100
Two at 18 - - - -	36
One at 12 - - - -	12
	£148

Three of these were owned by Edward Gray, a respectable merchant.

From this period to 1770, the fisheries were gradually increasing, and in 1774, seventy-five fishing vessels, of about 45 to 50 tons, navigated by seven or eight men each, were employed in this town. Merchant vessels from 1755, to 1770, or 1774, say, in the Liverpool trade:

Brigs	1	Tons	130
	1		160
	1		180
			470

One schooner, owned by Samuel A. Otis, Esq., of Boston, made her outfits at Plymouth, for her voyages to Liverpool. Outward cargoes, liver oil, lumber, potash, then made at Middleborough. Return cargoes salt, crates, freight for Boston. There may have been about twenty other vessels in the merchant service, whose outward cargoes were fish to Jamaica, some to the Mediterranean, and to the French islands, Martinico and Gaudaloupe.

During the Revolutionary War this commerce, and these few vessels were chiefly annihilated, and at the peace of 1783, a few schooners only remained, but fishing vessels immediately increased in size and aggregate tonnage.

Previous to the Revolution there was a considerable trade to Georgetown, South Carolina, and to Charleston. In the winter many vessels which had been employed in fishing during the summer, took cargoes to North Carolina and Virginia, and returned in March with Indian corn, bacon, and live hogs, and this domestic trade still continued.

'Previous to the last war with England, say from about 1808 to 1811, the commerce of the United States had attained to a state of great prosperity, and its government and people reposed in security upon the advantages which had resulted from a neutral position.' Shipbuilding was constantly increasing, and large ships were in great demand for voyages of neutral freight. But the destructive embargo in 1808, and the war with Great Britain which followed, annihilated commerce, and blasted the fairest prospects and calculations of merchants. Several valuable vessels belonging to this

town were captured, others were perishing at the wharves, our mechanics and seamen reduced to a mortifying state of idleness.*

The commerce of Plymouth, including Duxbury, and Kingston, may be estimated from the following abstract of duties:

Years.	Duties.	Years.	Duties.
1801	$21,754	1806	$98,224
1802	19,223	1807	62,592
1803	30,305	1808	21,994
1804	34,417	1809	32,575
1805	63,411	1810	29,224

Duties paid by merchants and others in the *town* of Plymouth, on importation at the port of Plymouth.

Years.	Duties.	Years.	Duties.
1813	$1,751	1822	$16,887
1814	,428	1823	12,706
1815	6,056	1824	5,053
1816	16,076	1825	8,151
1817	12,446	1826	4,842
1818	13,224	1827	13,119
1819	11,221	1828	25,732
1820	15,284	1829	31,237
1821	16,677	1830	8,383
		1831	7,500 estimated.

Enrolled Tonnage belonging to the town of Plymouth, employed in the coasting trade and fisheries, 3,949 $\frac{50}{95}$ tons.

Registered Tonnage belonging to the town of Plymouth, 5,070$\frac{29}{95}$ tons, including 1,170$\frac{22}{95}$ tons occupied in the whale fishery.

* It has been stated that we had in foreign trade, in 1811 and 1812, 17 ships, 16 brigs, 40 schooners. Of these were taken before September, 1812, 1 ship, 1 brig, 4 schooners.

The following is the statement of the Cod and Mackerel fishery for the summer of 1831.

Schooners in the Cod fishery 32, averaging $61\frac{47}{59}$ tons, employing eight men each, and landing 19,165 quintals of fish.

The number of barrels of Mackerel inspected this season is 3183.

To the inhabitants of the town the Cod fishery is an object of primary importance. To some it has been a source of wealth, and to multitudes of a comfortable, cheerful living.

The fishermen in general are respectable for good morals, correct habits, and civil deportment. The idea prevails with some of them that fishing employment is less honorable than foreign voyages, but let them consider that all honest enterprize and industry is honorable, and that fishing voyages are less liable to sickness and less exposed to dangers and vicious example—and, moreover, that the employment prepares them for services in the navy, where they may have the honor of fighting the battles of their country. It is much to the credit of our fishermen that when on the banks they carefully abstain from fishing on Sundays.

Those vessels that are employed in the straits of Belleisle fishery, carry whale-boats, in which the fish are taken and remain there through the summer.

To fit a vessel of seventy tons, carrying eight men, for a fishing voyage of four months, it requires about one hundred hogsheads, or eight hundred bushels of salt. Isle of May salt is preferred; about twenty barrels of clam bait, thirty-five or forty barrels of water, twenty pounds of candles, two gallons of sperm oil; these articles are in the fishermen's phrase called great generals, and are paid for from the proceeds before any division of the profits is made. The stone ballast, and a suit of clothes for the men who salt the fish, are also included in the great general's charges. After these articles are paid for, and the fish sold, the profits are

divided in the proportion of three eighths to the owners, and five eighths to the crew. If the crew furnish their own provisions, each man carries from thirty to fifty pounds of pork, one hundred pounds of ship bread, from three to six gallons of molasses, from fourteen to twenty-eight pounds of flour, some butter, lard, and vinegar, formerly two to six gallons of rum. At the present time, some vessels go entirely without ardent spirits. Each man carries six codlines, thirty fathoms long, four lead weights of five pounds each, two dozen cod hooks, one pair of large boots reaching above the knees, and a piece of leather or oil-cloth to defend his breast from the wet. A few other articles, called small generals, are paid for equally by each man, as two cord of wood, a barrel of beef, one bushel of beans, twenty bushels potatoes, three bushels of Indian or rye meal. It is customary for the owners to put on board two or more spare anchors and forty fathoms of cable.

The fish are brought home in the salt, and after being washed are spread on flakes to dry.

Dun-fish are of a superior quality for the table, and are cured in such a manner as to give them a dun or brownish color. Fish for dunning are caught early in spring, and sometimes in February, at the Isle of Shoals. They are taken in deep water, split and slack salted, then laid in a pile for two or three months in a dark store, covered for the greatest part of the time with salt-hay, or eel-grass, and pressed with some weight. In April, or May, they are opened and piled again as close as possible in the same dark store till July or August, when they are fit for use.

The amount of fish bounty paid to this town by the general government for the year 1831 is $17,501 47.

Whale Fishery. There were a number of schooners and sloops employed in the whale fishery in this town previous to and immediately succeeding the war of the revolution; but there are now no vessels of that class so employed. In the year 1821, a number of

citizens associated themselves together, and built a ship of three hundred and fifty tons for the purpose of fitting her for the Pacific ocean whaling, which they named the *Mayflower*, in honor of the ship that brought our forefathers here in 1620. The ship sailed in September, 1821, and after making three successful voyages, and landing rising six thousand barrels of oil, a part of the owners sold to some gentlemen of New Bedford, where she was transferred in 1831, and repaired, and sailed from that place in April, 1831; a part is still owned in this place. In 1821 another company was formed, consisting principally of the same persons that built the Mayflower, and built another ship which they called the *Fortune*, in memory of the second ship that came into these waters. This ship is two hundred and eighty tons, and has made two voyages, and landed about thirty-seven hundred barrels of oil, and is now on her third voyage. In 1830, the ship Arbella, of four hundred and four tons, and navigated by thirty-five men, was sent out, and 1831 the ship Levant, of three hundred eighty-five tons, navigated also by thirty-five men, sailed for the Pacific Ocean in pursuit of sperm whales. The two last named ships are of the largest class, and fitted out in the most thorough manner; and it is hoped they may meet with sufficient success to induce others of our fellow-citizens to embark in this enterprize, which has brought wealth and prosperity to other towns, and is believed can be carried on here to as good advantage as from most other places. The three ships now employed in the whale fishery amount in the aggregate to 1060 tons, navigated by ninety-two officers and seamen; the produce of this fishery may be estimated at about two thousand barrels of sperm oil annually. Connected with this establishment are the manufacture of about three thousand oil casks, and about fifteen hundred boxes, or of forty-five hundred pounds of sperm candles annually.

There are six sloops of about sixty tons each constantly employed in coasting between this place and Boston. They average about one trip a week in the summer season, and are usually from eight to sixteen hours in performing a passage. The distance being about fifty-five miles. A large part of their cargoes consist of the raw materials for the cotton, woollen, iron and cordage manufactories, as well as all kinds of goods and groceries for our stores and shops, and they carry back the various kinds of manufactures which are produced here. There are also two schooners, of about ninety tons each, employed in carrying to and from Nantucket, New Bedford, and New York, articles connected with our manufacturing establishments. There are also three vessels employed in bringing lumber from the state of Maine. An attempt was made in the years 1828 and 9, to run a steam-boat between this place and Boston, but it proved to be a losing concern, which was much regretted, as it was found to afford a mode of conveyance of great convenience to the inhabitants.

Wharves. There are nine wharves near the centre of the town, one of which extends nine hundred feet into the harbor, and is called Long wharf. This was constructed in 1829, and is honorable to the enterprizing proprietors. Having a plank flooring it affords a beautiful promenade, which is much frequented in summer by social parties who wish to enjoy a pleasant view and refreshing sea breeze. Besides these, there are three wharves on the south side of the harbor and one connected with the Cordage Factory at the north part of the town. On Water street, and the wharves which run from it, where most of the business connected with navigation is transacted, there are twenty-one stores, sixteen warehouses, and a sufficient number of mechanics and artists of various descriptions. There is an *aqueduct* in the town which supplies the most of the families on the north side of the Town brook, at

the rate of $5 annually for a single family, or $8 for two families in one house. The water is brought in logs from Billington Sea at the distance of about two miles. We have belonging to the town four fire-engines, well provided with hose and hydraulic pipes, and all the requisite appliances. We have also two large reservoirs connected with the aqueduct, affording an ample supply of water. The whole apparatus, with ladders and hooks are under the direction of men alert, and capable of the most efficient operation on any emergency which may occur. Never failing springs of the purest water are very numerous in town.

Topography.

Ponds, Rivers, and Brooks. The number of ponds within the limits of this town is supposed to be more than two hundred.

Billington Sea. This was formerly called *Fresh Lake.* It was discovered about the 1st of January, 1621, by Francis Billington, while mounted on a tree standing on a hill. It was in the midst of a thick forest, and when seen at a distance, Billington supposed it to be another sea. On the 8th of January, he went with one of the master's mates, to view the place. They found two lakes contiguous, separated by a narrow space; the largest is about six miles in circumference, and is the far famed *Billington Sea.* It is about two miles south-west from town, and from it issues the Town brook. In this pond there are two small islands. The largest, containing about two acres, having been planted with apple-trees, produces excellent fruit. This pond is well stocked with pickerel and perch. The majestic eagle is frequently seen cowering over this pond, and has for ages built its nest in the branches of the trees, visiting the flats in the harbor at low tide in pursuit of fish and birds. Loons, and the beautiful wood-duck produce their young in sequestered retreats about this pond, annually.

The fallow deer, tenacious of its ancient place of rendezvous, continue to visit this pond for drink, and to browse on its margin. For many years this beautiful pond was a favorite resort for social parties. A house was erected on the bank, a pleasure-boat was in the pond, and tea-parties and fishing-parties united in the happiest enjoyments.

South Pond is situated four miles from town,—is a beautiful sheet of unruffled water, the bottom of pure white sand, with white and red perch playing in their native element. This pond has now become a place of fashionable resort for parties. There is no natural outlet; but about the year 1701, a water course was cut from it, about half a mile in length, crossing the road and uniting with the head waters of Eel river. This project was executed under the direction of Elder Faunce, with the view of attracting alewives into the pond; but it failed of success.

Murdock's Pond lies about half a mile from our village in the rear of the burial hill. It is a deep round pond of about two acres, where ice is procured for ice houses; and a small brook issuing from it crosses the west road, and is called Little brook, or Prison brook, which unites with the Town brook.

Half-way Pond. This is ten miles southerly from our village. There is an island in this pond which formerly furnished a large supply of masts, and the road to it is still called the mast road.

White Island Pond lies some distance north-westerly from this; it is large, covering about 600, acres and is on the line which divides Plymouth from Wareham.

Great Herring Pond is about 15 miles from town, on the borders of Sandwich. It is two miles in length, and has an Indian population in its vicinity. Little Herring Pond is connected with it by a brook. The Leech gives name to one pond, though in most of them leeches are taken which answer all the purposes of the true medicinal leech.

Long Pond is two miles long, situated on the ancient path to Sandwich of the first settlers, which is the shortest rout by two miles. It is six miles from town, and is famous for large pickerel and perch.

Clam Pudding Pond is seven miles south, on the Sandwich road. It was formrely the resting stage for travellers to and from Cape Cod, and the settlers were in the practice of holding annual festivals on Clam Pudding at this pond.

Crane Brook Ponds are the source of a brook passing into Carver south westerly, on which are valuable furnaces and mills, manufacturing cast iron.

Scook, is the Indian name for a small pond near Manomet point, where are numerous rocks.

Coatuit is the Indian name for Half-way pond.

Agawam is the name of the brook flowing from Coatuit, and passing into the sea at Wareham. It is a valuable stream, on which mills and forges are situated and alewives abound in their season.

Town Brook. This is the outlet from Billington Sea; it passes through town and empties into the harbor a little south of Forefathers Rock. It is of inestimable value to the town, being the seat of manufactures of great importance which will be described under the head of manufactures. There is a tannery and two grist-mills on this stream. Before the town sold their privilege to this brook, alewives were so abundant on their way to the Billington Sea that more than 800 barrels have been taken in one season. But the passing up of the herrings was for many years a source of much trouble and perplexity by interrupting the operations of the mills and manufactures, occasioning an entire suspension during several weeks annually, to the great damage of the proprietors and the town. It was from these considerations that, at a meeting of the inhabitants of the town in 1821, it was voted to convey to the owners of the mills situated on the town brook, all the town's right to the use of the water and the bed

of the said brook, including the lower grist-mill, for the term of 50 years, on the condition that the said owners of mills pay to the town $5000 in ten years with interest annually. According to the arrangement adopted by the town, the interest accruing on the purchase money is to be distributed, one third, or $100 annually, among such widows of the town as are not supported as paupers, and the remaining part, or $200, to be distributed annually among the inhabitants of the town paying a poll tax, or poll taxes, in equal proportions as the selectmen of the town for the time being may direct. And when the principal sum of $5000 shall be paid, the selectmen shall cause the same to be funded in such stock as in their opinion will best secure to the town the interest thereof for said purposes during said term of fifty years.

Eel River. This originates in ponds and springs back of Eel River Village, crosses the post road to Sandwich, and empties into the sea near Warren's farm. It is appropriately called Eel river, from the abundance of eels which it yields to the support of the industrious poor. Perhaps it will not be extravagant to say that about 150 barrels are annually taken there.

Wonkinqua River takes its rise in this town, forms the boundary between it and Carver, and runs about four miles to Wareham line, below which there are on this stream some of the largest iron works in the county.

Red Brook seeks the sea at Buttermilk Bay, over it is a small bridge crossed by the road from Sandwich to Wareham.

Willingsly Brook. This is about half a mile from our village, crossing the public road to Sandwich. So early as 1623, this place was recorded by the name of Hobbs's Hole, from an inlet or cove under a cliff where small vessels and boats were sheltered from storms. In 1637, we find the name of Willingsly on record for the same place. It is now a location for a cluster of about 24 houses, where there is some excellent land, and

flakes for curing fish. Here was the seat of Secretary Morton : in this place he copied the church records, and wrote the Memorial, and volumes of other records.

Double Brook, or Shingle Brook of the first settlers, runs northerly by the post-road to Sandwich, and unites with Eel river. A forge stands on it near the junction. *Beaver Dam Brook* is in the village of Manomet Ponds, and affords seats for several mills. *Indian Brook* is still further south near the shore ; it is small, but abounds with trout. There are between this town and the bounds of Kingston five small brooks or rivulets crossing the road ; near the third, reckoning from town, lived Deacon Hurst, who erected the first tannery in Plymouth, about 1640. Near the fourth brook, was the seat of Governor Prince, being a farm given him by the General Court when he removed from Eastham in 1665, and was called *Plain Dealing*. This has since been known by the name of Lothrop's farm, now Hedge's farm. On this brook stands a grist-mill and a valuable cordage manufactory.

There are in the town about 12 bridges. The stone arch bridge was erected over the Town brook in the year 1812, at Spring hill, precisely at the spot where the colonists had their first interview with Massasoit in 1621. The hill where the sachem with his train of 60 men first appeared, was called Strawberry hill by the first planters, now Watson's hill. There is another bridge of wood over the Town brook at the wharf, which for many years was the principal passage way, and was called the lower road. This bridge is now the property of the town, but is kept in repair by individuals, in consideration of some contiguous land granted to them by the town. Eel river bridge is well known to travellers, though the public road to Sandwich is now more westerly, and pass the Cotton factory.

Hills.—Pinnacle Hill is in the vicinity of South Ponds. *Sentry Hill* and *Indian Hill*, are on the sea shore of Manomet. *Gallow Hill* is on the south side

of Wood's lane, and is the property of the heirs of Mr. Richard Holmes. *Sparrow's Hill* is two miles westerly, crossing the main road to Carver. *Paukopunnakuk*, or *Break Heart Hill* of the early settlers. This is that remarkable sand hill ten miles on the road to Sandwich, which the first settlers had to pass on foot, when journeying to and from the Cape to attend the courts at Plymouth. The traveller now escapes that wearisome hill by taking the new offset road to the shore, at Mr. Joseph Harlow's house.

There are on the road to Sandwich, in the woods, two rocks called Sacrifice rocks. They are covered with sticks and stones, which have been accumulating for centuries. It was the constant practice among the aboriginals, to throw a stone, or stick on the rock in passing. The late Rev. Mr. Hawley, who spent many years among the natives at Mashpee, endeavored to learn from them the design of this singular rite, but could only conjecture that it was an acknowledgment of an invisible Being, the unknown God whom this people worshipped. This pile was their altar.

Burying Hill, formerly *Fort Hill*. Immediately in the rear of the town is a hill, rising one hundred and sixty-five feet above the sea level, embracing about eight acres. On the summit of the south-west side, the pilgrims erected first some temporary defence, but, in 1675, on the approach of Philip's war they erected a strong fort, one hundred feet square, strongly palisadoed, ten and a half feet high. No other place could have been so well chosen, either for discovering the approach of savages, or for defending the town against their attacks. The settlement was rendered perfectly secure, and springs of water were at their command. The whole circuit of the fort is still distinctly visible,* a watch-house of brick was also built near the fort.

* On the 10th day of May, 1832, the present author planted an elm tree near the centre of the old fort, which may serve to designate its site to posterity.

The view presented from this eminence, embracing our harbor and the shores of the bay for miles around, is not, perhaps, inferior to any in our country. Let the antiquarian come at full tide and when the billows are calmed, and seat himself on this mount, that he may survey the incomparable landscape, and enjoy the interesting associations with which he will be inspired. Immediately beneath the hill lies the town in full view, and beyond this the harbor and shipping. The harbor is a beautiful expanse of water, bounded on the south by Manomet point, and near which commences a beach three miles in length, breasting the rolling billows of the bay, and serving as a barrier to the wharves; and on the northeast by a promontory extending from Marshfield, called the Gurnet, on the point of which stands the light-house.

These several points, together with the opposite shores, completely enclose the harbor, having Clark's Island and Saquish in its bosom. Beyond these points opens the great bay of Massachusetts, bounded at the southern extremity by the peninsula of Cape Cod, which is distinctly visible, and spreading boundless to the north-east. On the north appears the flourishing village of Duxbury, shooting into the bay, and exhibiting a handsome conical hill, ever to be remembered as once the property and residence of the gallant Standish. Between Duxbury and Plymouth, is the harbor and pleasant village of Kingston. Having taken a survey of this magnificent group, so exceedingly endeared to the New England antiquarian, and enjoyed a spiritual vision of the Mayflower, laden with men, women and children, come as founders of a mighty empire, we are next led to view a scene of more solemn contemplation. The whole extent of the hill is covered with the symbols of mortality, the sepulchres of our venerated fathers. We tread on the ashes of some of those to whom we are indebted, under Providence, for our most precious earthly enjoyments, all that is valuable in

life, much of principle and example which are consoling in death. With what solicitude do we search for a sepulchral stone bearing the names of Carver, Bradford, and their glorious associates. It excites some surprise that sixty years should have elapsed before a grave-stone was erected to the memory of the deceased pilgrims; but it is probably to be asscribed to their poverty and want of artists. A considerable number of the oldest are English slate stone. No stone of an earlier date than 1681 is to be found in this enclosure, though it is by no means probable that this was the first interment here. It is to the memory of Edward Gray, a respectable merchant, whose name frequently occurs in the old records. Here lies the body of Edward Gray, Gent., aged about fifty-two years, and departed this life the last of June, 1681. Edward and Thomas Gray, brothers, came to Plymouth about the year 1643. Thomas, it is said afterwards settled in Tiverton, or some say Connecticut. Edward married Sarah Winslow, daughter of John Winslow; their children were Desire, Elizabeth, Sarah, and John. In December, 1665, he married for his second wife, Dorothy Lettice, by whom were born Edward, and five other children. The first Edward Gray is frequently mentioned in the old records. He made his mark for his name, as was not uncommon in those days; by habits of industry and good management, however, he gained a character of respectable merchant, and acquired an estate worth £1250 sterling, the largest estate at that time in the colony. The second Edward, according to accounts received from Lewis Bradford, Esq., lived at Tiverton, Rhode Island. Thomas and Samuel lived at Little Compton, and also three daughters, two of whom married Coles, and the youngest married Caleb Loring, of Plympton, who is the ancestor of the Lorings in the north part of Plympton. Dorothy, the second wife of Edward Gray, married, when a widow, Nathaniel Clark, of Plymouth, for her second husband,

but finally separated from him, and died in the family of her son-in-law Caleb Loring, in May, 1728, aged more than eighty years. John Gray married Joanna Morton. Their children were Ann, who married Tinkham; Joanna married Ebenezer Fuller. Samuel married Patience Wadsworth. Mercy married Jabez Fuller. Samuel Gray by Patience Wadsworth had several children; those who survived infancy are Mary, Samuel, and Wait. John Gray married Desire Cushman, January 26th, 1775. Their surviving children are John, born May 5th, 1777; Lewis, born May 3d, 1790. They lived in the old mansion house in Kingston.

The following is the language of the Rev. Dr. Dwight, after visiting our burying hill in October, 1800. 'Governor Carver was buried in the first burying ground, and is without a monument. This is dishonorable to the citizens of Plymouth, but will, I hope, not long remain so. The true character of the ancestors is becoming better and better understood by the people of New England, and their attention to the persons and facts mentioned in the early history of their country is continually increasing. The inhabitants of Plymouth, who, in this respect, hold the first station among their countrymen, will, I trust, feel the propriety of honoring with so becoming a tribute, the memory of a man to whom they are so greatly indebted. The remains of Governor Bradford were interred without a doubt in the old burying ground, near those of his son.* But

"Not a stone
Tells where he lies."

The powder house on the north part of the hill was

* The following are copied from some of the stones on our burying-hill:

Here lyes ye body of ye Honorable Major William Bradford, who expired February ye 20, 1703-4, aged 79 years.

He lived long, but still was doing good,
And in his country's service lost much blood.

built of brick in the year 1770, and the small mound in the form of a fort in the valley a little south-east of it is said was built by Mr. Cotton's scholars in the time of Queen Ann's war.

Cole's Hill. This is a small square, on the sea bank, at the foot of Middle street. It is a pleasant spot, affording a fine ocean scenery. Here too we feel an impulse from ancestral recollections. On this hill, according to common tradition, were deposited the remains of those renowned pilgrims who fell a sacrifice during the perilous winter of 1620—1. About the year 1735, an enormous freshet rushed down Middle street, by which many of the graves of the fathers were laid bare, and their bones washed into the sea.

A breast-work and platform were erected on this bank in 1742. John Winslow, who at that time lived in town, had the direction of the work, and the selec-

After a life well spent he 's now at rest—
His very name and memory is blest.

Here lyes ye body of Mr. Joseph Bradford, son to the late Honorable William Bradford, Esq., governor of Plymouth Colony, who departed this life July ye 20th, 1715, in the 85th year of his age.

Here lyeth buried ye body of that precious servant of God, Mr. Thomas Cushman, who, after he had served his generation according to the will of God, and particularly the church of Plymouth, for many years in the office of ruling elder, fell asleep in Jesus, December ye 10th, 1691, and in the 84th year of his age.

Here lyes buried the body of Mr. Thomas Faunce, ruling elder of the First Church of Christ, in Plymouth. Deceased February 27, An. Dom. 1745, in the 99th year of his age.

The fathers where are they ?
Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

Here lyes ye body of Mr. Thomas Clark, aged 98 years. Departed this life March 24th, 1697.

If this is the same Clark that was the mate of the Mayflower, and the first who landed on the island that bears his name, as is generally supposed, then he was 21 years of age when he arrived here. Little is known of his immediate posterity, if any survived him.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that from the first settlement of this town, two ministers only, the Rev. Mr. Little, and the Rev. Dr. Robbins, have been buried in this enclosure.

tion of the spot. During the revolutionary war a battery was erected at the same place, while intrenchments were thrown up at a well selected spot, for defence of the town; and a fort and garrison were established at the Gurnet, at the entrance of the harbor, by the United States. In the war with Great Britain in the year 1814, an intrenchment was again thrown up on Cole's hill for the defence of the town.

Plymouth Beach. This commences at Eel river, and extending three miles northerly, is a natural barrier to the wharves against the sweeping surges of the ocean.

Originally, the beach consisted of sand hills and hollows, covered with beach grass, excepting about 80 rods in length, and thirty rods in breadth, which was a thick forest. The inner side of the beach was covered with plum and wild cherry trees, and the swamp with large pitch pine and beech wood, with a large quantity of white grape-vines attached to the trees. In the centre of the hollow, was a spot about fifty feet square, that was a firm green sward, and shaded by four beech trees, from which were suspended numerous vines with clusters of grapes, in their proper season. This was a pleasant resort for gentlemen and ladies, and was much frequented in the summer season, as is well remembered by persons now living. The point of the beach extended to the spot where the stone pier now stands, and not far from the point was a house of entertainment for mariners, as the harbor was a famous anchorage, and sometimes near one hundred vessels were seen riding in the Cow Yard. This was the natural state of the beach till about 1770. Our ancestors were well aware of the importance of the beach as security to the harbor, and we find in 1702 a penalty of five shillings imposed on any one who shall fell trees or set fires on the beach. We find again, 1723, 1726, committees were chosen by the town to secure the beach from injury by cattle going at large, and they

were enjoined as far as possible to prevent encroachments on said beach. In 1764, a viewing committee of the town reported £20 sufficient for the repairs of two small breaches near the woods. In December, 1778, a great storm increased these two breaches, after which a hedge fence was erected to accumulate the sand. In November, 1784, a tremendous gale from the east, accompanied by the highest tide ever known, carried away a part of the woods on the east side, and overflowed the valley and swamp, by which all the trees were killed in about three years, except those on the high ground. The same year a committee from the town viewed the breaches, and reported that a wall of eighty feet in length and four feet high, would be competent to the repairs, with a hedge fence in low places; and that it would require about 1000 tons of stone, and at the cost of £414. The committhe also recommended the digging a canal to turn the course of Eel river, that it may empty into the channel within side of the beach as formerly; the river having been diverted from its natural course by some proprietors of meadows for their benefit, about 1750. It was the decided opinion of Mr. John Peck, a skilful marine architect, about the year 1779, that for the safety of the harbor a canal to turn the river back to its natural channel was indispensably necessary. The judgment of such a man ought to have received immediate attention. But in the year 1803 a committee of the town examined the ground and estimated the expense of a canal at a sum from $600 to $800. The town did not adopt this measure, and such were the extraordinary inroads of the sea, that in 1805 and 1806, the beach was in such ruinous condition that the tide swept over it and boats actually crossed at the breaches; nor was it long before a channel was worn in one of the breaches nine feet deep, and vessels loaded with stone passed through. A promiscuous wall of

stone was now erected, but was soon entirely demolished by the surges of the sea, as if composed of pumpkin shells.

A reviewing committee now reported that a sea wall of two thousand feet, requiring thirty thousand tons of stone, costing $45,000 was found necessary. The town petitioned our legislature from time to time for assistance in repairing the beach. In 1785, a grant was obtained of £500, conditional, that the town would raise and apply the like sum; but, from inability, this was not complied with. In 1806, a township of land in the state of Maine was granted, on condition that the town raised and applied $5000 in two years, which was accepted, and the township of land was sold for $9,500. In 1812, a lottery to raise $16,000 was granted by the general court, which sum was eventually realized and applied as designed. Since that time another township of land has been granted for the same purpose. A sum amounting to more than $40,000 has been expended for repairs since the year 1806, without any assistance from the general government. But in the year 1824, the town preferred a petition to congress for assistance, and the general government assumed to itself the future repairs, and in 1824, and 1825 made a grant of $43,566. In 1824 the repairs were conducted by Lieutenant Chase, of the Engineer department, who received the thanks of the town for his faithful and judicious performances. The next year the repairs were prosecuted under the supervision of Colonel Totten, of the corps of engineers, assisted by the collector of the port.

The method adopted for the repairs, is, by triangular frames of timber filled in with stones, around and over which the sand gathers and forms a new breast. In other places large bodies of brush are laid, which have produced the desired effect, accumulating sand

into cliffs and help the growth of beach grass. The frames employed are of three sizes, a part fourteen feet base, twelve feet rafters; twelve feet base, ten feet rafters; ten feet base, seven feet rafters. These frames are morticed and tenoned together, and placed in a line vertically on the surface of the beach, and filled with stones. The largest size contains five tons, and the smallest three tons. The whole quantity of stones used from 1824 to 1831 is 14,997 tons. As an indirect aid to the security of the beach, a canal half a mile in length and fifteen feet wide was cut by the town in the year 1814, for the purpose of conducting Eel river to its native outlet within side of the beach, which has been found to be of very essential advantage. This outlet will require annual vigilance, and it is confided to posterity as a work of great importance to the preservation of the harbor. The repairs of this beach which has so long engaged attention are now considered as complete, and with care and a little *annual expense, will probably continue as a mound of defence for ages.*

The Gurnet is a peninsula, or point of high land originating from Marshfield, and extending about 7 miles into the bay. On its southern extremity is situated the light-house. It was first erected in 1768, by the then province, at the expense of £660 17*s.* and in 1801, it was consumed by fire. The light-house now standing was erected by the United States, in 1803. It exhibits two lights, which are about 70 feet above the level of the sea. There is near the point a farm of rich soil which supports one family.

Saquish is a head land joined to the Gurnet by a narrow neck, lies contiguous to Clark's Island, and contains 12 or 14 acres.

Clark's Island is the first land that received the footsteps of our fathers who formed the exploring party from Cape Cod. It received its name from Clark, the master's mate of the Mayflower, who first took

possession of it with the shallop, December 8th, 1620. There is a tradition that Edward Dotey, a young man, attempted to be first to leap on the island, but was severely checked for his forwardness, that Clark might first land and have the honor of giving name to the island, which it still retains. My authority for this tradition is Mr. Joseph Lucas, whose father was the great grandson of Edward Dotey. The anecdote has been transmitted from father to son, so tenaciously that it need not be disputed. He also states, that Edward Dotey was one of the earliest settlers in that part of Plymouth which is now Carver, where he died at an advanced age, and his estate there was inherited by his descendants of the same name till within a few years.

This island contains 86¼ acres, as appears by the following survey. 'By virtue of a warrant from his excellency Sir Edward Andros, knight, captain general and governor in chief of his majesty's territory and dominion of New England, bearing date, Boston, the 23d of February 1687,—I have surveyed and laid out for Mr. Nathaniel Clark, a certain small island, being known by the name of Clark's Island, and is situated and lying in New Plymouth Bay, bearing from the meeting house in Plymouth north by north-east, about three miles, and is bounded round with water and flats, and contains eighty-six acres and a quarter and three rods. Performed this 3d day of March 1687.

'PHILLIP WELLS, *Surveyor.*'

In Governor Hutchinson's history of Massachusetts, this is called one of the best islands in Massachusetts Bay. The growth of wood originally was chiefly red cedar, and was formerly an article of sale at Boston, for gate posts. In 1690, Clark's Island was sold to Samuel Lucas, Elkanah Watson, and George Morton. The family of the late John Watson, Esq. have been the proprietors of this island for half a century, and still

reside on it. There is at present but one island in the harbor of Plymouth; that which was formerly called Brown's Island is only a shoal lying about half a mile east by north from Beach point. 'This it is supposed was once upland, and there is a tradition, that stumps of trees have been seen here.' In Winthrop's Journal, p. 87, it is said that in 1635, September 6th, 'Two shallops, going laden with goods to Connecticut, were overtaken in the night with an easterly storm, and cast away upon Brown's Island, near the Gurnet's Nose, and the men all drowned.'

Cow Yard. An anchorage in Plymouth harbor near Clark's Island. It takes its name from a cow whale, which once came into it and was caught, with her calf. This was formerly a famous anchorage for fishermen.

Salter's Beach is contiguous to Marshfield Beach, near Clark's Island.

High Pines is a piece of salt meadow which lies back of Clark's Island. 'William Shurtleff exchanges with the precinct, the precinct give him ten acres of upland and meadow, and he conveys to them a piece of salt meadow, six acres more or less, at High Pines.' —*County Records, b. v. fol.* 113, 114.

Sheep Pasture. At the commencement of the last century, the inhabitants considered it an object worthy of attention to encourage the rearing of sheep on the town's land. Accordingly in May, 1703, a tract of three miles square was granted to a number of individuals, for their improvement as a sheep pasture. This tract was within the bounds of Plymouth, Rochester, Plympton, Carver, and extending to Smelt pond in Kingston.

The plan which they adopted was to divide the property into 322 shares, which were taken up by 16 persons. A house and folds were erected, and a shepherd was employed who resided on the spot. Twenty acres were allowed for cultivation, and the sheep were to be folded on the land the three first summers,

with the view of bringing it into grass. In the year 1704, the town passed a vote that the said land shall be, and remain to the persons therein named, according to the number of shares they have signed for, and to such others as shall join them, and to their heirs forever. The endeavors of the proprietors were attended with little success, and in the year 1712, they began to think of resigning the land back to the town, and in 1712, this was done, and the project altogether abandoned as impracticable. Their number of sheep was about 360. In 1768 a proposition was made to revive this project as a town concern, but it was wisely rejected. Subsequently to 1784, this tract was sold at different times; the last 800 acres were disposed of in 1798.

The Militia of the town. One company of Artillery, commanded by Eleazer S. Bartlett. One do. Light Infantry, called the Standish Guards, commanded by John Bartlett, 3d. Two companies Infantry, called South and North. South company, commanded by George W. Bartlett. North company, by Asa Barrow, Jr.

The above are attached to the 1st Regiment, commanded by Col. Leander Lovell, and belong to the 1st Brigade 5th Division.

Manufactures. The Manufactures of Iron are various, and some of them extensive. On the stream called the Town brook are two forges, in which are made anchors, mill-cranks, plough-shares, sleigh-shoes, &c. Formerly shovels were made at these works, under the superintendence of Mr. Ames, whose manufacture of the same article in Easton has since become so celebrated.

The rolling-mill and nail factory on the same stream have been in operation many years; the former was rebuilt in the year 1807, on the site of a slitting-mill for the manufacture of nail-rods, formerly the property of Martin Brimmer, Esq., of Boston. At this establish-

ment are made about three tons of nails per day. Nearly all the nail machinery in this factory is the invention of Mr. Samuel Rogers, of East Bridgewater, who received large sums from the proprietors for his patents. There is one machine, lately invented and constructed by Mr. Joseph Lucas, of this town, on a new principle, by which, while much of the manual labor is saved, a larger quantity of nails can be made in a given time than by any other machine. As a specimen of its performance, it may be mentioned, that the produce of something less than five hours' work was one thousand and twenty-five pounds of 10d. or board nails, of the very best quality. Mr. David Bradford, of this town, is the inventor of another nail machine, considered equal if not superior to the best of the old construction.

Near the rolling-mill, is an air furnace, occasionally used in casting machinery for the iron works. Here is also a furnace belonging to the same establishment, for converting bar iron into blistered steel. Thirty cords of wood are consumed in the process of baking, which requires from six to ten days. About eighteen tons are made in a batch.

At Eel River is another rolling-mill of more modern construction. It commenced operation in June, 1827. The head and fall of water in this privilege are about thirty feet, with an unfailing stream. The rolling-mill and nail factory connected with it are built of granite, in a very strong and durable manner; the former is eighty by fifty feet in the clear, and the latter seventy-two by forty feet.

The rolling-mill will manufacture the present year about seventeen hundred tons of iron into nail-rods, plates and hoops.

Another nail factory, about one mile from these works, is supplied by them with plates; and on the same dam with it is a forge where bar-iron of superior tenacity is made from scraps. Below these, on the

same stream, is a rivet factory, where may be seen a machine for making rivets, invented by Mr. Timothy Allen, another ingenious mechanic of Plymouth, and intended to supersede the ill-contrived tools at present used. It has been in successful operation one or two years, and fully answers the expectations of the inventor.

It may not be amiss to include in this enumeration, a factory lately put in operation by Captain Samuel Bradford, for making staves, to be used for nail casks. By this machinery the staves are sawed from the log, jointed, and tapered into the precise form necessary to give the cask the required shape.

Cotton Factories. The Cotton Factory on Townbrook was erected in 1813; dimensions ninety-two by thirty-six, and is four stories, including basement and attic. It contains about sixteen hundred spindles and thirty-four looms, and manufactures from nine hundred to one thousand yards of cloth daily, all about ¾ yard wide, employing about fifty-four hands.

The factory at Eel River was erected in 1812, and its dimensions are ninety-two by thirty-six, and is six stories, including the basement and attic. Belonging to the same establishment and at the same dam, is a smaller building which contains spinning machinery also.

There are about two thousand spindles in both, and about forty looms in operation. From eleven to twelve hundred yards of cloth are manufactured daily, part of which is three-fourths and part one yard wide. This factory gives employment to about sixty-four persons. The factory at Mancmet Ponds contains about three hundred spindles, and manufactures about 50 pounds coarse warp per day, a considerable portion of which is colored, and made into cod and mackerel lines, which are lately introduced into use, and bid fair to supersede those made of hemp altogether. These are twisted and laid by water in a small line-walk attached

to the factory. There is also a small cotton factory on the forge stream at Eel River, which manufactures coarse warps, and a very superior kind of wicking used for making the sperm candles. There is at the forge dam at Eel River, a small nail factory, where about one thousand nails are made daily.

Plymouth Cordage Company was incorporated in 1824. Their rope-walk situated in the north part of the town and near the Kingston line, is three stories high, capable of employing eighty hands and making five hundred tons of cordage per year. Their cordage is of the patent kind, in high repute, and laid by water power.

There is another rope-walk in town, operating by water power, but no statement of the extent of its operations could be procured.

There is also in town a twine and line manufactory, where eight tons of hemp are manufactured annually into twine and various kinds of line, which come to a profitable market.

Ship building was formerly carried on to considerable extent in this town, many excellent vessels have been sent from our ship yards, but the business is now diminished on account of the scarcity of timber. In 1779, a packet ship was built in this town for Congress, by Mr. John Peck, who was at that time much celebrated for his skill as a marine architect. The ship was called the Mercury, and was commanded by Captain Simeon Sampson, and employed to carry public dispatches to our ministers in France. The ship-yard was on the spot which is now the garden of Captain Lothrop Turner.

News Papers. In the year 1785, Nathaniel Coverly, of Boston, commenced the publication of a newspaper in town, entitled the Plymouth Journal, but from its limited circulation, and our nearness to the metropolis, it was discontinued after a few months. In 1822, Mr. Allen Danforth commenced the Old Colony Me-

morial, which is published every Saturday. This paper is increasing in reputation and is well supported. Connected with the printing office is a newspaper reading room, where intelligence from various quarters is daily received, and is a pleasant resort for the reading gentlemen at their leisure hours. Under the same roof is a book-store and bindery, and a circulating library. May 17th, 1832, appeared the first number of a weekly newspaper, entitled the 'Pilgrim,' published by Benjamin Drew, Jr. every Thursday. This specimen is handsomely executed, and skilfully arranged, and presages favorably for future numbers.

There are three licensed public taverns in town, all of which are commodious, and well provided and attended; and there are two other taverns on the road to Sandwich.

Mrs. Nicholson's boarding-house, in Court square, has long been established, and is known to the public for its excellent accommodations.

The first regular stage commenced running from this town to Boston in 1796. We have now a stage establishment equal to any in the country, running daily in various directions, and provided with excellent horses and careful and attentive drivers.

There was no post office in this town prior to the revolutionary war.

The first post office establishment was by our Provincial Congress, May 12th, 1775. Their rate of postage was considerably higher than at the present time. They established a mail route from Cambridge through Plymouth and Sandwich to Falmouth, once a week. In June, 1775, the Provincial Congress appointed William Watson, Esq., post master in this town, and Timothy Goodwin and Joseph Howland, joint post-riders.

Alms House. In 1826, the town purchased a few acres of land well located, and erected a very commodious brick house and out houses, at the expense of from four to five thousand dollars, where the poor are

well accommodated under the care of an overseer, and amply and comfortably provided for. The average number in the house is thirty-three, and the expense to the town for their support, overbalancing their earnings is about one thousand dollars annually. This sum includes the expense of a few individuals partly supported out of the house.

Market. Our provision market affords an ample supply of the various substantials, the conveniences, and the luxuries of life, such as beef, pork, mutton, poultry, and sometimes venison. At our fish market we have cod, haddock, halibut, mackerel, bass, tautaug, lobsters, eels, alewives, and clams. Should any one complain for the want of a dinner, he must be chargeable with inexcusable indolence, and probably with intemperance.

Societies. PILGRIM SOCIETY. This society was established in 1820, by the descendants of the first settlers at Plymouth, and by such others as were desirous of perpetuating their principles, and commemorating their virtues. The number of members of this society amounts to several hundred, and it is desirable that the number should be increased. The terms of admission are ten dollars, and those who duly appreciate the principles of the institution and the characters of the puritan fathers, cannot fail to unite in this duty of filial piety, and contribute their aid to its support. An appropriate diploma, prepared by Mr. Penniman, of Boston, has been, and is designed to be distributed among the members. The diploma is about 15 inches by 10, the upper part gives a view of Plymouth harbor, the beach, and island. Below is a sketch of Plymouth village, and surrounding objects, as now presented to view. The stated meetings of the society are held at Pilgrim Hall, on the 22d of December, and for the choice of officers, the last Monday in May. The officers for the present year, 1832, are, Alden Bradford, president, Z. Bartlett, vice-president, Benjamin

M. Watson, recording secretary, Pelham W. Warren, corresponding secretary, Isaac L. Hedge, treasurer, James Thacher, librarian and cabinet keeper. There are eleven trustees, and a committee of arrangements consisting of three.

The Old Colony Peace Society, and the Plymouth County Temperance Society, hold their meetings occasionally in this town. There is in town a Free Mason Society, and a Debating Society. The ladies have a Fragment Society, by which the poor in town are essentially benefited.

Plymouth Bank was incorporated June 23d, 1812, capital $100,000; first president, William Davis; cashier, William Goodwin. President, 1832, Barnabas Hedge; cashier, Nathaniel Goodwin.

Plymouth Institution for Savings, president, Barnabas Hedge; treasurer, Allen Danforth. Office at Plymouth Bank. Deposit days first Tuesday of every month. Amount of deposites on the first Tuesday of January, 1832, $50,000.

Old Colony Bank, incorporated February, 1832, capital $100,000; president, Jacob Covington; cashier, Ebenezer G. Parker.

Temperance. The promotion of temperance has long been an object of solicitude among most of the inhabitants of this town, and they have wisely attended to the awful desolations of intemperance, and to the great work of reformation which is now extending around us. Most decided is our opinion that this alarming evil is only to be suppressed by a general union in the means of entire abstinence from all ardent spirits, as a drink, or as an auxiliary to labor. It is auspicious to our community that it has pleased Heaven to bless us with the temperance reformation. It may be presumed that the consumption of ardent spirits, is diminished not less than three fourths within the last seven years, and in the same diminished proportion is life sacrificed, health, happiness, and domes-

tic comfort destroyed, and the character and morals of our fellow men impaired by the practice of intemperance. Long may it be our happy condition that our temperance societies may meet with the co-operation of all classes of people in efforts to improve the health, and increase industry, and the means of living, self-respect, love of character, and give a new impulse to the domestic virtues in sober life.

Formerly there were two rum distilleries in this town, producing large quantities of New England rum, from which the neighboring towns were supplied with the fiery element, and considerable quantities were sent to the southern states annually. One of these houses was located where Mr. Gale's long house now stands, and the other occupied the lot now vacant, adjoining the house of Mr. William Holmes. This was taken down in 1814, and we hope never to see another erected.

It is a matter of gratulation that there is so great a combination against intemperance throughout our country. It is truly honorable to all who enlist in this holy warfare; and may God grant that every effort calculated to annihilate the practice of inebriation, may be crowned with success.

The following is a list of the names of those gentlemen who have delivered discourses in the town on the anniversary of the arrival of our Forefathers. Those marked with an asterisk, (*) have not been printed.

1769, First celebration by Old Colony Club.

1770, Second celebration by Old Colony Club.

1771, Third celebration by Old Colony Club.

1772, Rev. Chandler Robbins—For Old Colony Club.

1773, Rev. Charles Turner—For Old Colony Club. By the town and by the first parish.

1774, Rev. Gad Hitchcock, Pembroke.
1775, Rev. Samuel Baldwin, Hanover.
1776, Rev. Sylvanus Conant, Middleborough.
1777, Rev. Samuel West, Dartmouth.
1778, Rev. Timothy Hilliard, Barnstable.*
1779, Rev. William Shaw, Marshfield.*
1780, Rev. Jonathan Moor, Rochester.*

From this time the public observances of the day was suspended, till

1794, Rev. Chandler Robbins, D. D. of Plymouth.
1795, }
1796, } Private Celebration.
1797, }
1798, Dr. Zaccheus Bartlett, Plymouth, Oration.*
1799, The day came so near that appointed for the ordination of Rev. Mr. Kendall, that it was not celebrated by a public discourse.
1800, John Davis, Esq., Boston, Oration.*
1801, Rev. John Allyn, D. D., Duxbury.
1802, John Q. Adams, Esq., Quincy, Oration.
1803, Rev. John T. Kirkland, D. D., Boston.*
1804, (Lord's Day) Rev. James Kendall, Plymouth.*
1805, Alden Bradford, Esq., Boston.
1806, Rev. Abiel Holmes, D. D., Cambridge.
1807, Rev. James Freeman, D. D., Boston.*
1808, Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Dorchester.
1809, Rev. Abiel Abbot, Beverly.
1811, Rev. John Elliot, D. D. Boston.
1815, Rev. James Flint, Bridgewater.
1817, Rev. Horace Holley, Boston.*
1818, Wendell Davis, Esq., Sandwich.*
1819, Francis C. Gray, Esq., Boston.*
1820, Daniel Webster, Esq., Boston, by Pilgrim Society.
1824, Professor Edward Everett, Cambridge, by Pilgrim Society.

1829, Hon. William Sullivan, Boston, by Pilgrim Society.

1831, Rev. John Brazer, Salem, by First Parish in Plymouth.

The following anniversaries were commemorated by the third parish in Plymouth.

1826, Rev. Richard S. Storrs, Braintree.

1827, Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D., Boston.

1828, Rev. Samuel Green, Boston.

1829, Rev. Daniel Huntington, Bridgewater.

1830, Rev. Benjamin Wisner, D. D., Boston.

1831, Rev. John Codman, D. D., Dorchester.

HYMNS, ODES, &c.

Written for the Anniversaries of the Landing of the Pilgrims.

Hymn for the 22d of December.

Tune—'*Old Hundred.*'

Hail, Pilgrim Fathers of our race!
With grateful hearts, your toils we trace;
Again this *Votive Day* returns,
And finds us bending o'er your urns.

Jehovah's arm prepar'd the road;
The *Heathen* vanish'd at his nod:
He gave his *Vine* a lasting root;
He loads his goodly boughs with fruit.

The hills are cover'd with its shade;
Its thousand shoots like cedars spread:
Its branches to the sea expand,
And reach to broad *Superior's* strand.

Of peace and truth the gladsome ray
Smiles in our skies and cheers the day;
And a new Empire's 'splendent wheels
Roll o'er the tops of western hills.

Hail, Pilgrim Fathers of our race!
With grateful hearts your toils we trace;
Oft as this *Votive Day* returns,
We'll pay due honors to your urns.

Ode for the 22d of December.

By Hon. John Davis.

Composed for the Anniversary Festival at Plymouth, in the year 1793.

Sons of renowned Sires,
Join in harmonious choirs,
Swell your loud songs;
Daughters of peerless dames,
Come with your mild acclaims,
Let their revered names
Dwell on your tongues.

From frowning Albion's seat,
See the fam'd band retreat,
On ocean tost;
Blue tumbling billows roar,
By keel scarce plough'd before,
And bear them to this shore,
Fetter'd with frost.

By yon wave-beaten Rock,
See the illustrious flock
Collected stand;
To seek some sheltering grove,
Their faithful partners move,
Dear pledges of their love
In either hand.

Not winter's sullen face,
Not the fierce tawny race
In arms array'd;
Not hunger shook their faith,
Not sickness' baleful breath,
Nor Carver's early death
Their souls dismay'd.

Water'd by heavenly dew,
The *Germ of Empire* grew,
Freedom its root;
From the cold northern pine,
Far t'ward the burning line,
Spreads the luxuriant vine,
Bending with fruit.

Columbia, child of heav'n,
The best of blessings giv'n,
Rest on thy head;
Beneath thy peaceful skies,
While prosperous tides arise,
Here turn thy grateful eyes,
Revere the dead.

Here trace the moss-grown stones,
Where rest their mould'ring bones,
Again to rise;
And let thy sons be led,
To emulate the dead,
While o'er their tombs they tread
With moisten'd eyes.

Sons of renowned Sires,
Join in harmonious choirs,
Swell your loud songs;
Daughters of peerless dames,
Come with your mild acclaims,
Let their revered names
Dwell on your tongues.

HYMN.—*Composed by Rev. Dr.* HOLMES.

Sung at the 186th Anniversary of the Landing of the Fathers at Plymouth, December 22d, 1806.

TUNE—'*Old Hundred.*'

Our Father's God! to Thee we raise,
With one accord, the song of praise;
To thee our grateful tribute pay,
Oft as returns this festal day.

With tearful eyes we here will trace
Thy wonders to the Pilgrim race,
And while those wonders we explore,
Their names extol, thy name adore.

Our Father's God! Thy own decree
Ordain'd the Pilgrims to be free;
In foreign lands they own'd thy care,
And found a safe asylum there.

When the wide main they travers'd o'er,
And landed on this sea-beat shore,
The Pilgrims' Rock must e'er proclaim
Thy guardian care was still the same.

Our Father's God! while here we trace
Our lineage to the Pilgrim race,
O may we like those Pilgrims live,
And in the sons the sires revive.

Our Father's God! to thee we raise,
With one accord, the song of praise;
To thee our grateful tribute pay,
Oft as returns this festal day.

Two Hundred Years ago.

The following Song, composed by Rev. Dr. Flint, *for the occasion, was sung at the Public Dinner at Plymouth, on the 22d December,* 1820.

1. Come, listen to my story,
Though often told before,
Of men who pass'd to glory,
Through toil and travail sore;
Of men who did for conscience sake
Their native land forego,
And sought a home and freedom here
Two hundred years ago.

2. O, 'twas no earthborn passion,
That bade the adventurers stray;
The world and all its fashion,
With them had passed away.
A voice from heaven bade them look
Above the things below,
When here they sought a resting place
Two hundred years ago.

3. O, dark the scene and dreary,
When here they set them down;
Of storms and billows weary,
And chill'd with winter's frown.
Deep moan'd the forests to the wind,
Loud howl'd the savage foe,
While here their evening prayer arose
Two hundred years ago.

4. 'Twould drown the heart in sorrow
To tell of all their woes;
Nor respite could they borrow,
But from the grave's repose.
Yet nought could daunt the Pilgrim Band,
Or sink their courage low,
Who came to plant the Gospel here
Two hundred years ago.

5. With humble prayer and fasting,
In every strait and grief,
They sought the Everlasting,
And found a sure relief.
Their cov'nant God o'ershadow'd them,
Their shield from every foe,
And gave them here a dwelling place
Two hundred years ago.

6. Of fair New-England's glory,
They laid the corner stone;
This praise, in deathless story,
Their grateful sons shall own.
Prophetic they foresaw in time,
A mighty state should grow,
From them a few, faint Pilgrims here,
Two hundred years ago.

7. If greatness be in daring,
Our Pilgrim Sires were great,
Whose sojourn here, unsparing,
Disease and famine wait;
And oft their treach'rous foes combin'd
To lay the strangers low,
While founding here their commonwealth
Two hundred years ago.

8. Though seeming overzealous
In things by us deem'd light,
They were but duly jealous
Of power usurping right.
They nobly chose to part with all
Most dear to men below,
To worship here their God in peace,
Two hundred years ago.

9. From seeds they sowed with weeping,
Our richest harvests rise,
We still the fruits are reaping
Of Pilgrim enterprize.

Then grateful we to them will pay
The debt of fame we owe,
Who planted here the tree of life
Two hundred years ago.

10. As comes this period yearly,
Around our cheerful fires,
We'll think and tell how dearly
Our comforts cost our sires.
For them will wake the votive song,
And bid the canvass glow,
Who fix'd the home of freedom here
Two hundred years ago.

ODE

For the Celebration of the Anniversary of the Pilgrim Society of Plymouth, 22d December, 1824.

By J. Pierpont.

The pilgrim fathers—where are they?
The waves that brought them o'er
Still roll in the bay, and throw their spray
As they break along the shore:
Still roll in the bay, as they rolled that day,
When the Mayflower moored below,
When the sea around was black with storms,
And white the shore with snow.

The mists, that wrapped the pilgrim's sleep,
Still brood upon the tide;
And his rocks yet keep their watch by the deep,
To stay its waves of pride.
But the snow-white sail, that he gave to the gale
When the heavens looked dark, is gone:—
As an angel's wing, through an opening cloud,
Is seen, and then withdrawn.

The pilgrim exile—sainted name!—
The hill, whose icy brow
Rejoiced, when he came, in the morning's flame,
In the morning's flame burns now.
And the moon's cold light as it lay that night
On the hill-side and the sea,
Still lies where he laid his houseless head;—
But the pilgrim—where is he?

The pilgrim fathers are at rest:
When Summer's throned on high,
And the world's warm breast is in verdure dressed,
Go, stand on the hill where they lie.
The earliest ray of the golden day
On that hallowed spot is cast;
And the evening sun, as he leaves the world,
Looks kindly on that spot last.

The pilgrim *spirit* has not fled:
It walks in noon's broad light;
And it watches the bed of the glorious dead,
With the holy stars, by night.
It watches the bed of the brave who have bled,
And shall guard this ice-bound shore,
Till the waves of the bay, where the Mayflower lay,
Shall foam and freeze no more.

Original Hymn.

By Rev. S. Deane, *for the 22d of December*, 1831.

Lo! the rising star of Freedom
Once our pilgrim fathers blest;
By her light, ordained to lead them,
To the land of promised rest.
Star of heaven!
Star of heaven!
Trav'ling toward the distant west.

While their countless toils enduring,
Faith the promise kept in sight:
For themselves and sons securing,
Home and country, truth and light.
Star of heaven!
Star of heaven!
Pointing to Jehovah's might.

Now their relics round us lying,
Grateful children guard their clay;
While their spirits never dying,
Hope has borne on wings away:
Star of heaven!
Star of heaven!
Guiding to a brighter day.

Raise we honors to their merit,
Temples sculptured with their name?
No! their virtues to inherit,
Seals their bright and conscious fame.
Stars of heaven!
Stars of heaven!
High they shine with ceaseless flame.

See the lights around us gleaming,
Still to guide the pilgrim's eyes:
See the star of empire beaming
Bids their children's glory rise.
Star of heaven!
Star of heaven!
Glowing still in western skies.

Original Hymn,

For the Dedication of the New Church.

By Rev. J. Pierpont.

1. The winds and waves are roaring:
The Pilgrims met for prayer;
And here, their God adoring,
They stood in open air.

When breaking day they greeted,
And when its close was calm,
The leafless woods repeated
The music of their psalm.

2. Not thus, O God, to praise thee,
Do we, their children throng:
The temple's arch we raise thee
Gives back our choral song.
Yet, on the winds that bore thee
Their worship and their prayers,
May ours come up before thee
From hearts as true as theirs!

3. What have we, Lord, to bind us
To this, the Pilgrim's shore!—
Their hill of graves behind us,
Their watery way before,
The wintry surge, that dashes
Against the rocks they trod,
Their memory, and their ashes—
Be thou their guard, O God!

4. We would not, Holy Father,
Forsake this hallowed spot,
Till on that shore we gather
Where graves and griefs are not:
The shore where true devotion
Shall rear no pillared shrine,
And see no other ocean
Than that of love divine.

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